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The Formosan Primary Anthropogonic Myths, Genesis, and the Creation of Man

VALDIS GAUSS

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The Formosan Primary Anthropogonic Myths, Genesis, and the Creation of Man

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The Formosan Primary Anthropogonic Myths, Genesis, and the Creation of Man

By

Valdis Gauss

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Outdoor art display. Medium: Fresco on carved concrete. Photo by Author, August 30, 2022 at Chihpen Immaculate Conception Church, in Jhiben, Taitung.

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About the Author

Born and raised in Santa Barbara, California, Valdis Gauss (高加州) is an Assistant Professor with the Department of English at National Taitung University on the island of Taiwan (ROC). His notable works include *The Formosan Great Flood Myths: An Analysis of the Oral Traditions of Ancient Taiwan* (2022) and *The Formosan Shooting the Sun Myths: Oral Histories of the Aboriginals on Taiwan* (forthcoming).

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Preface

In 1882, John Dodd, the founder of Formosa Oolong Tea Company, published *A Few Ideas on the Probable Origin of the Hill Tribes of Formosa*. In that article Dodd refers to the drift origin motif which claims that the ancestors of Taiwan's aboriginals drifted to Taiwan from locations overseas:

> On questioning the aborigines of the hills, as to where they originally came from, they invariably pointed Southwards, remarking that the place was distant very many "sun-go-downs," meaning many days' journey Southward. (Dodd, 1882, p. 75)

In the absence of longstanding traditional orthographical records, the Austronesian tribes that inhabit the island of Taiwan have relied on the transmission of oral literatures for the preservation of historical events since the dawn of time. The earliest historical events that are still recited by tribal elders relate to the origins of the gods and first ancestors of mankind.

This monograph anthologizes the Formosan anthropogonic myths from all of Taiwan's Austronesian tribes. In excess of 250 origin texts, sourced from dozens of linguistic, anthropological, historical and mythological corpora as well as other publications have been collated and analyzed rendering the present literary survey far more comprehensive than any prior study on this subject. Over 100 Formosan myths, many of which were never previously available in English, have been translated for the present study.

CHAPTER 1

In the Beginning …

> Our island rolls just like a ball, the plains haven't been created yet … The sun appears, then comes the moon. The twinkling stars come along then … The lightnings and roar of thunder … Both give birth to the fall of the rain. The rainbow climbs high in the sky … And then the islands are divided and the sea starts undulating. – Tao tradition of Orchid Island. (Arnaud, 2013, 0:00:56)

In my first book concerning Formosan mythology titled *The Formosan Great Flood Myths: An Analysis of the Oral Traditions of Ancient Taiwan*, I explore the significance of the great flood myths. One of the conclusions from this exploration was that the deluge myths remain the most consequential of all Formosan sacred literatures because they chronicle the origins of man and many aetiologies, albeit those which occurred *after* the flood. This got me thinking. If 'all the people' died in the flood, where did the ancestors of all those who died come from? Genesis 1:27 says that "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." But what origins do the sacred oral histories of Taiwan's Austronesian tribes speak of? Do the myths say that the ancestors were created by a god or gods? Do the myths tell of the spontaneous bursting forth of the first men from inanimate objects such as stones, trees or feces? Is it said that the first men were sent down to Earth in cosmic vessels from celestial realms beyond the clouds? In fact, all of these motifs are represented within the Formosan anthropogonic origin myths and the purpose of this book is to anthologize and investigate these sacred oral histories.

No previous study has delved into the mythological origins of all of Taiwan's Austronesian tribes. While a number of tribe-specific monographs have been published featuring corpora of Formosan oral histories, myths and other folklore, these monographs are not topic-specific and therefore neglect to recognize the unique nature of primary anthropogonic texts. Moreover, these studies are limited in scope to the consideration of a minimal selection of texts

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that typically conflate primary (pre-flood) and secondary (post flood) anthropogonic mythologems. Ferrell provides a quintessential example and rationale for this confounding methodological approach:

> Most aboriginal groups of Taiwan, similarly to many peoples in the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, point to a particular mountain as their semi-sacred *'place of origin,' and/or place where some persons escaped during the great flood.* What is sometimes forgotten is that these attributes *are transferrable*: when a group moves into a new area, sooner or later an outstanding peak in the new location may be pointed out as the place of origin,' and the former habitat of the group eventually quite forgotten. (Ferrell, 1966b, p. 185–186)

Ferrell neglects to provide examples to substantiate the hypothesis that places of origin and places of refuge from the great flood are somehow "transferrable." This conflation of mythologems is akin to conflating the biblical creation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden with Noah's disembarkation from his ark in the Mountains of Ararat after the deluge 1,657 years after the creation of Adam. Unfortunately, however, numerous researchers on Formosan origin myths have made the same erroneous assumption.

Following is a brief glimpse of some related studies. The so-called *Creation Myth of Ivalino* reported by Benedek (2018, p. 22–31) which chronicles the exploits of Simina-Vohang fails to tout a single act of creation or genesis. At best, it could possibly be interpreted as a drift origin myth. However, it is not thus classified in the present study because the epic of Simina-Vohang is set in the post diluvian context. Instead, the extremely lengthy narrative describes the journey taken by the ancestor Simina-Vohang as he ventured across the seas and stopped at dozens of islands where he enslaved everyone (people who had already been created – without explanation) he could find. *The Creation Myth of Ivalino* exhibits strong parallels to elements represented in the Greek epic by Apollonius Rhodius, the *Argonautica* as well as *The Guideways Through Mountains and Seas* with its reference to a demon woman who "had one large swinging breast which she flung around her waist as she was running" and the salt people whose necks were crusted in dried sea salt.

"The Tafalong Origin Myth" reported by Yeh (2008), is reported in its song version. The narrative, which is presented in 39 lines describes a deluge and a secondary anthropogonic origin. Pinpointing the setting of a text within the myth-time is particularly challenging with tribes that have multiple inundation myths or "myths (that) incorporate multiple deluge narratives into a single mythic text" (Gauss, 2022, p. 129) in successive deluges. In Yeh's text, it is

reported that the creator god Masera had two sons who were "carried along by a swift current of the ocean" and drifted to the mouth of the Jhiben River at Taitung (Yeh, 2008, p. 46). However, many years later, Masera's great granddaughter Tiyamacan rejected the advances of Felalakas, the son of the sea god, who, in his wrath sent a second deluge. Tiyamacan was taken away by the flood, her two siblings Lalakan and Doci drifted to Lagasan, a mountain on Taiwan's eastern side (Yeh, 2008, p. 49). In this case, the mythologems of primary anthropogonic origins, secondary anthropogonic origins and multiple deluges are all conflated and interpreted simply as "origin myths."

Various internet resources such as Tan's *Story of Taiwan: Origins of Creation* (2020) chronicles deluge myths that are misidentified as "Origins of Creation."

Nevertheless, not all studies on Formosan mythology have been so shortsighted. In Pu, Chung-Chen's *Literary History of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples*, Pu, a member of the Ali Mountain Tsou tribe, accurately notes a key distinction between the antediluvian and the post diluvian eras:

> Before the flood, human beings had no clear thoughts and it was hard to distinguish god and human beings (god could come to the world and become human beings) ... After the flood ... the distinction between god and human beings became clear ... The age before the flood is the age of mythology, while the age after the flood is the age of legends. (Pu, 2012, p. 117)

The earliest comprehensive and most well-known works which chronicled Taiwan's aboriginal mythology were published during the Japanese colonial era. *Investigation of the Barbarians* 蕃族調査報告書 (1913–1921) edited by Sayama Yukichi is an eight-volume work that records over 70 myths, legends and folktales. Two decades later in 1935, professors Naoyoshi Ogawa 小川尚義 and Erin Asai 淺井惠倫 published the famed Japanese language monograph *The myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes* 原語による臺灣高砂族傳說集. While the approximately 400 texts in Ogawa and Asai's work have been translated into Mandarin, the work has never been translated as a single work into English. However, a number of researchers have translated different sections of this work which has allowed a wider international readership to access fragments of the Ogawa and Asai corpus.

One Hundred Paiwan Texts (2003), offers an English language translation of the Ogawa and Asai (1935) Paiwan texts alongside original texts collected by John Whitehorn. Unfortunately however, just one primary anthropogonic myth is preserved therein. Norbeck also drew on Ogawa and Asai's work in his translation of 28 Atayal texts published in *Folklore of the Atayal of Formosa and*

the Mountain Tribes of Luzon (1951) which again includes just one anthropogonic text.

Das Wort der Alten (1981) by Anton Quack is a robust oral history of the Katipol Puyuma and includes three dozen texts glossed in German. Quack's work records only two primary anthropogonic myths and alludes to a subsequent post-flood genesis. Hans Egli's German language publication *Mirimiringan* (1989) also contains 100 Paiwan texts, five of which include primary anthropogonic motifs. *Rukai Texts*, written by Paul Jen-kuei Li (1975) preserves 26 Taromak texts, one of which describes the creation of man. Finally, out of the 134 texts compiled in *A Descriptive Study of the Tsou Language, Formosa* by T'ung-ho Tung in 1964, two passages include the motif of primary anthropogonic origins. Of these five tribe-specific epic monographs which memorialize an impressive 430+ Formosan texts from multiple phratries, just twelve myths are relevant to the present study. These figures illustrate the scarcity of primary anthropogonic myths within related corpora published over the last century.

The most comprehensive English language corpus and analysis of the Formosan anthropogonic myths is found in the first chapter of Pu, Chung-Chen's *Literary History of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples*. In Pu's work which is largely, but not exclusively, sourced from Sayama Yukichi's publications, 41 texts from 11 tribes are represented, half of which are attributed to the Amis and Paiwan tribes. *Literary History*, generally neglects the officially recognized Hla'alua, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Sakizaya and Tao primary anthropogonic myths. Nevertheless, due to the richness of *Literary History,* approximately a sixth of the myths cited in the current study are sourced from this valuable resource of Formosan mythology. Additionally, 103 of the texts discussed herein were translated into English by the author from Mandarin and German sources.

The Origin of Man in the Legends of the Formosan Tribes is the richest single source of Formosan anthropogonic texts ever previously published. In 1956, Hsu, Shih-Chen published this landmark work in a Mandarin language publication based on Japanese monographs by Sayama and Oonisi (1923), Utsurikawa, Miyamoto and Mabuchi (1935), Kozima and Kawano (1915–1922), and Sayama (1913–1921). From these four sources, Hsu included translated excerpts from 68 enumerated origin texts. However, like most authors, Hsu neglected to distinguish between primary and secondary anthropogonic myths and as such, a third of the texts are beyond the scope of the present inquiry because they are of a postdiluvian nature. In total, 42 primary anthropogonic mythic texts from Hsu's *The Origin of Man in the Legends of the Formosan Tribes* are included in the present disquisition sourced from ten tribes.

One last noteworthy compilation is found in *Taiwan Indigene: Meaning Through Stories,* a ten volume bilingual book series that was edited and

translated by R. J. Winkler. This series, published in 2002, contains 46 sacred myths, two of which are related to the present monograph. My 2020 article *Villains of Formosan Aboriginal Mythology* offers my thoughts and observations on this fantastic series.

1 Framing the Myth-Time

Within the realm of myth-time, the cosmogonic and anthropogonic mythologems of Taiwan's aboriginal tribes chronicle the earliest of all historical events. "In his research, Qiao Jian has pointed out that for Taiwanese indigenous peoples without the written word, 'myths and legends are their history'" (Pu, 2009, p. 134). These myths are foundational to tribal perceptions regarding the origins and configuration of the world. Preserved via oral tradition since time immemorial, anthropogonic myth settings are only chronologically preceded in myth-time by those oral histories detailing the origins of the gods, the cosmos and the Earth.

The current study adopts William Bascom's definition of *myth*:

> Myths are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. They are accepted on faith; they are taught to be believed; and they can be cited as authority in answer to ignorance, doubt, or disbelief. Myths are the embodiment of dogma; they are usually sacred; and they are often associated with theology and ritual. Their main characters are not usually human beings, but they often have human attributes; they are animals, deities, or culture heroes, whose actions are set in an earlier world, when the earth was different from what it is today, or in another world such as the sky or underworld. Myths account for the origin of the world, of mankind, of death, or for characteristics of birds, animals, geographical features, and the phenomena of nature. (Bascom, 1965, p. 4)

Anthropogonic myths are historical accounts that relate to the creation of man (Baumgartner, 1974, p. 196). Each of Taiwan's tribes has several unique anthropogonic mythic narratives which constitute the oral histories of the tribes' various phratries as "considerable variation in mythology and religious beliefs (exists) in different villages" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 54). Illustrative of this diversity in variation, it is notable that even on Orchid Island, which stands at just 16 square miles and was completely isolated for millennia, clear examples of variance are exhibited in Tao mythology. It has been noted that "In spite of

conspicuous homogeneity and unity of Yami culture in general, the oral traditions about their ancestors are fairly divergent as between villages and even among the inhabitants of the same village" (Mabuchi, 1956, p. 3).

Tribes are larger political units with shared linguistic and cultural traditions. However, tribes are made up of numerous, traditionally independent, villages and phratries. Phratries are hunting/kinship groups that relied on a single hunting territory. During a recent tour of the Rukai village of Taromak, tour guide and Taromak elder Ba, Ming-Zhe (巴明哲) explained to me that traditionally, villagers considered themselves to be residents of independent nations. Moreover, the "boundaries (Tamalrokaya) that surround the traditional territory and distinguish its parts are important parts of the Taromak landscape because they create and define social identities and relations" (Portnoy, 2010, p. 44).

Though Formosan anthropogonic myths occupy both the antediluvian and the postdiluvian myth-times, the earliest primeval genesis and creation myths are tributaries to the primary anthropogonic myth-time which is strictly limited to the antediluvian epoch. Narratives set within the primary anthropogonic myth-time describe the earliest dawn of humanity.

Figure 1 illustrates a generalized placement of the anthropogonic myths within Formosan myth-time chronology. The chronology initiates with the dawn of time which is marked by the origins of the gods. The theogonic period occupies the same period as that of the cosmogonic because, depending on the text in question, the birth of the gods occurs before, during and after the creation of certain dimensions of the cosmos. Following the

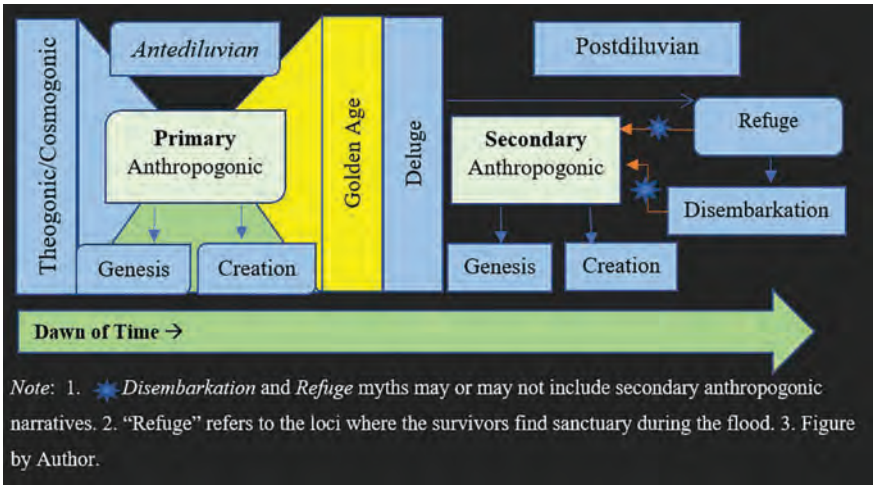

FIGURE 1 Anthropogonic epochs within the primeval myth-time chronology

contemporaneously transpiring cosmogonic/theogonic period, is the Golden Age which the primary anthropogonic myths initiate. The Golden Age was the paradisaic "first state of nature (when) ... mortals lived in innocency and simplicity" (Burnet, 1691, p. 46). The Golden Age was abruptly terminated by the deluge signaling the advent of the postdiluvian secondary anthropogonic and refuge origins.

Previous research on Austronesian mythology in Melanesian New Guinea has interpreted oral literatures set in the primeval myth-time chronology as simply "the oldest myths."

> *The Oldest Myths*, referring to the origin of human beings; to the sociology of the sub-clans and villages; to the establishment of permanent relations between this world and the next. These myths describe events which took place just at the moment when the earth began to be peopled from underneath. (Malinowski, 1922, p. 304)

Schoorl (1957) expounds on the nature of the primeval myth-time, which includes the Golden Age, by drawing attention to the fact that "In that time the separation between man and animal was not strictly drawn. All persons in the myths are at the same time animals" (Kamma, 1978, p. 168). Indeed, the distinctions between deity, man, flora and fauna remain chronically opaque throughout texts set within this primeval landscape.

I digress to note that to this point, the Biblical King Solomon wrote:

> I said in my heart, "Concerning the condition of the sons of men, God tests them, that they may see that they themselves are like animals." For what happens to the sons of men also happens to animals; one thing befalls them: as one dies, so dies the other. Surely, they all have one breath; man has no advantage over animals, for all is vanity. (Ecclesiastes 3:18–19)

Within the chronology of the primeval myth-time, it is these "oldest myths" that occupy the primary anthropogonic period and signal the commencement of the Golden Age that are the object of the current study. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to anthologize the texts and identify the salient motifs of all the recorded primary anthropogonic myths of Taiwan's tribes. As such, all postdiluvian genesis and creation myths, as well as loci of refuge, the mountaintop sanctuaries where the survivors originated in the postdiluvian Earth, are intentionally excluded from the present study.

FIGURE 2 Taitung aborigines activity center
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, MARCH 20, 2023 AT FENGLI ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (臺東縣臺東市豐里國民小學) IN TAITUNG

2 The Importance of Origin Myths

Mythology, in general, is one of the most critical components of cultural heritage that any group can have. Cultural myths foster a sense of personal and group identity, community and meaning. Absent a firm grasp on meaning, which gives purpose and value, individuals and groups descend into chaos and, ultimately, nihilism.

The importance of origin myths is manifold. Origin myths provide a first principal foundation for all other mythologems and thus, the beliefs which affect identity and meaning are also based in this foundation. Ascribing to the belief that the origin of man's existence is the result of a random confluence of atoms, as it is in feces-genesis myths for example, or conversely the belief that one's existence is the result of willful creation by deities, necessarily affects the first principals that are embraced and practiced by any group. As observed in the first century BC by Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius:

> The world is either a medley of atoms that now intermingle and now are scattered apart, or else it is a unity under the laws of order and providence. If the first, what should I stay for, where nature is in such a chaos, and things are so blindly jumbled together? Why do I care for anything else than to return to the element of earth as soon as may be? Why should I give myself any trouble? Let me do what I will, my elements will be scattered. But if there is a Providence, then I adore the great Governor of the world, and am easy and of good cheer in the prospect of protection. (Aurelius, 1887, p. 86)

Interpretations of origin played a historical role in intertribal relations. Phratries relied, in part, on mythology in establishing confederations and alliances. With regard to Taiwan's aboriginals, Toichi Mabuchi previously noted that:

> A tribal alliance may be composed of a group of people belonging to the same system ... At the same time, the interaction between these tribal alliances is unstable and easily broken. Sometimes, they become enemies and fight for the hunting fields. Moreover, they kill each other and hunt for heads. Therefore, in regard to the Atayal characteristics, the territory of a tribal alliance where it is defined by a river basin is more important and obvious than the commonality of the origin. (Wang, 2008, p. 8–9)

This illustrates that while the element of community depends, in part, on a shared origin myth, this is but one element of necessity among many.

Tribal origin myths are also critical with regard to official government policy which is based, in part, on scholarly research regarding mythology:

> According to Utsurikawa (Nenozo)'s research, the Səqoleq people thought that Pinsebukan was their place of origin; for the Tsə?ole?, the place was Papakwaqa; while the Səqoleq thought their place of origin was Bunohon. This classification based on places of origin in legend was accepted subsequently by scholars and became the key approach to classify the Atayal. (Wang, 2008, p. 7–8)

However, Wang also notes that "aboriginal elites doubted Japanese scholars' objective classification of ethnic groups, but the place of origin as the key standard to distinguish the Truku from Atayal was also used by the leaders of the name rectification campaign" (Wang, 2008, p. 14).

The present work offers a case in point that each phratry within a tribe has its own origin myth. Rarely can it be said that multiple phratries residing in disparate villages of a certain tribe ascribe to the same origin myth. This extensive diversity is also a factor in why no previous researcher has published a comprehensive anthology of Formosan origin myths.

CHAPTER 2

The Anthology of Anthropogonic Myths

Anthropogonic Narratives by Tribe

With the exception of the linguistically Bashiic Tao/Yami myths, the ancestral languages in which all of the subject myths were preserved are Formosan (International Organization for Standardization *639-5 fox*). Formosan languages belong to the Austronesian family and have historically been spoken on the island of Taiwan. Generally, the approximately dozen surviving Formosan languages exhibit sufficiently divergent linguistic features to be considered separate languages rather than dialects of a single language (Li, 2013, p. 47). However, despite the reality that some tribes did traditionally speak dialects of a single language or live within a certain proximity to each other, as in the case of the Seediq, Truku and Atayal for example, due to multiple political considerations, it is expedient in the context of the current study, to reference the texts by *tribes* rather than *languages* and *dialects* throughout this discussion.

Taiwan's 16 officially recognized Austronesian tribes are comprised of the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Hla'alua, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Thao, Truku, Tsou and Tao/Yami peoples. The etymologies of these names are compiled in *Origins of the Formosan Ethnonyms* (Gauss, 2023). In addition, the present study includes compendia from the officially unrecognized Favorlang, Hoanya, Ketagalan, Makatao, Pazeh, Siraya and Basay Trobiawan oral literatures. Consequently, origin myths from a total of 23 tribes are anthologized herein.

The Thao tribe is the only officially recognized tribe on Taiwan that lacks primary anthropogonic myths as the tribe's oldest origin myths are set in the mid-1600s. This is not to say that the Thao are without ancient myths belonging to other mythologems. Though no deluge myths are found among the Thao, Shooting the Sun myths which are set prior to the deluge, are known to them.

Nevertheless, the general deficit in Thao mythic oral tradition can be attributed to relatively recent historical events. Following the overthrow of the Dutch East India Corporation referred to herein as the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) by forces of the Japanese-born pirate Koxinga (鄭成功), the Thao were expelled from their ancestral habitation in the plains of Chiayi and forced into the mountains where, led by a white stag, they eventually migrated to Lalu, an islet in the midst of Sun Moon Lake, deep within Nantou County (Chen, 1996, p. 42). The radical shift in lifestyle inflicted by the Thao diaspora

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evidently caused a massive upheaval in the preservation of orally transmitted histories. Severed from the homelands of their ancestors, the Thao collectively forgot their "oldest myths." As such, novel legends and myths related to the Thao tribe's new residence at Sun Moon Lake in Nantou were subsequently adopted.

It is implied in the Republic of China's (ROC) Council of Indigenous Peoples report on the Clan Ancestral Ritual, that the Thao consider the islet of Lalu to be "their place of origin" rather than simply their ancestors' place of residence:

> On June 25 on the lunar calendar every year, the descendants of each clan must worship the spirit of their *primogenitor at the place of origin*. Currently, the family of chiefs Shinawanan and Shkatafatu still worship their ancestors according to the tradition by taking a boat to their place of origin. (CIP-Thao)

This anthology offers excerpts and summaries of the Formosan primary anthropogonic mythic narratives. A complete corpus of 255 mythic texts accompanies this monograph as an appendix.

1 The Amis Myths

Twenty-six Amis origin texts were uncovered throughout the literary record including seven of drift origin. (See Chapter 4) In general, while northern phratries believe themselves to be descended from deities, southern phratries are said to have emerged from stones (CIP-Amis). Five genesis and fourteen creation myths indicate that the anthropogonic myth-time was either initiated at a location near modern-day Taitung City or upon Orchid Island, which is also incorporated within Taitung County. Moreover, the majority of the creation texts point to ancestors who descended from the sky to inhabit Taiwan with some allotment made for an Earthly/Chthonic stone genesis origin. Finally, at least one Amis text describes a lightning origin, a motif that is shared with a Paiwan phratry.

Amis oral traditions which rely on a stone origin indicate that the protoplasts emerged from a stone on Orchid Island after a tremendous earthquake (Chien, 1994, p. 91). However, as the protoplasts found the island too small, they and their descendants traversed a bridge to Green Island, called *Sanasay*, *Sanasai*, *Sanna* or *Sinasay* in Basay-Kavalan oral traditions (Li, 2001, p. 275) and *Vasai* in Tao traditions (Ferrell, 1969, p. 53), en route to crossing a second bridge to the larger island of Taiwan (Ho, 1967, p. 240). Also of the stone

genesis tradition, but not on Orchid Island, it is said that both the Amis and the Puyuma ancestors were born from a stone at Arapanai (also spelled *Aranpay* or *Arapanay*) (Chien, 1994, p. 91 & Chang, 2012, p. 243), a location adjacent to Orchid Island on Taiwan's eastern coast. Another rendition of the Arapanai origin claims that the protoplasts fell to Earth within a bolt of lightning that struck a tree at Arapanai. After this cosmic lightning strike, the ancestors of the Pangtsah emanated from the smoldering tree (Hsu, 1956, p. 168).

The Amis Orchid Island origin myths are particularly significant for the following reasons. First, there are no bridges between any of the three islands in the myth and second, the Amis language is a Formosan language and the Tao language of Orchid Island is a Batanic language with links to the Philippines which suggests a stronger separation from the other Taiwanese tribes. However, in prehistory, perhaps in the Pleistocene era, geologists acknowledge that land links may have existed between Taiwan "and islands to the south" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 4 & Chygrynskiy, 1993) which lends credence to the authenticity of this detail within the myths.

Other Amis anthropogonic myths set on Orchid Island recall the exploits of the god Abokurayan who departed from his oceanic realm to marry the goddess Tariburayan on Orchid Island where they had children after taking council regarding procreation from birds (Chien, 1994, p. 91 & Pu, 2012, p. 38). Another version of this text describes the origin of fire and claims that while Abokurayan and Tariburayan knelt by a fire, they became aware of their reproductive organs which led to an increase in population (Chien, 1994, p. 91). Kuraluts oral tradition likewise chronicles how the gods first bore children at Orchid Island and later departed via boat. After landing at Kakawasan, west of the current airbase in Taitung city, the gods migrated northward until they reached Takilis where they settled after a fruitless search for other people (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 91). This Kuraluts tradition is unusual because, while it preserves the origin story of the Kuraluts phratry, it is limited in that it does not extend to other phratries which, according to the text, already existed prior to the Kuraluts foundation.

A plausible reference to the Orchid Island origin narrative, it was originally reported by Sayama in 1913 that "in one Ami group two old dugout canoes were conserved and periodically replaced until recently, for use in a yearly ceremony which included the symbolic re-enactment of the arrival of their ancestors from across the sea" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 53). However, this tradition could equally be based on the overseas drift origin motif which is covered in Chapter 4.

The creation myths of the Tafalong and Nanshih Amis phratries hinge on gods named Keseng and Madapidap, the incestuous son and daughter of the

sun and moon who descended to Cilangasan Mountain in the Tafalong narrative and Panapanayan on the southern coast of Taitung in other traditions (Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 295). Siblings Keseng and Madapidap bore six children; Dadakiolo (son), Tadi'afo (son), Aputok (son), Doci (son), Lalakan (daughter), and Tiyamacan (daughter) (Pu, 2012, p. 100–101). The Mataian phratry preserves the theme of the incestuous sibling children of the sun and moon but calls them Cihcih and Di'sil (Pu, 2012, p. 38). However, in the Kiwit version of the creation myth, the gods Sera and Nakaw descended from heaven and took up residency at Tawrayan on Xiujia Mountain where their children multiplied (Pu, 2012, p. 38 & p. 101–102). Moreover, other traditions state that it was Sura and Nakao's parents, Kakumodan Sappatorroku and Budaihabu who fell to Taurayan (Tawrayan) (Frazer, 2013, p. 106 & Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101).

The oral record of the Vataan phratry provides the most comprehensive theogonic genealogy among the Amis primary anthropogonic myths. Vataan texts say that the creation of man was preceded by the births of three distinct generations of gods. The first god and goddess Mareyap and Maswan inhabited total darkness and gave birth to a son, Arayan, and a daughter, Ma'alengo. Arayan transformed into the illuminating sky (space) out of which souls emerged and subsequently fell under the authority of Ma'alengo. In the third generation, four sibling demigods were born. Led by the demigod Lopalanau who directed and guided his siblings, the demi-goddess Done created all life while Mea'sele and Anaveyau transformed into the sun and the moon (Ferrell, 1969, p. 54).

A final Amis myth chronicles the descent from heaven of two gods, Buton and Kumi. After a time upon the Earth, they ascended together hand in hand. But, halfway to heaven, the goddess Kumi slipped and tumbled back to the Earth with a plant called puwa. At least one phratry believes itself to be the descendant of the protoplast that appeared from within the puwa (Hsu, 1956, p. 167).

It should be noted that, in the first ever documented origin of the Amis tribe, it was recorded that the protoplasts, a male and a female, transformed from bamboo and had children in Kouasain near Beinan in Taitung City (Taylor, 1886, p. 79). Not only were the protoplasts the product of transformed bamboo, but the bamboo itself transformed from a staff that had been planted by an unnamed being (Taylor, 1886, p. 79). However, as this narrative mirrors a Beinan Puyuma deluge myth, and since Taylor's description indicates that Beinan "is regarded as the principal city and the home of the supreme chiefs" it is likely that this myth is in fact a postdiluvian Puyuma reference to the protoplast known as *Nunur*. For further documentation on the character Nunur, see Cauquelin (2004, p. 28).

TABLE 1 The primary Anthropogonic Amis gods

Phratry	Sky gods		1st Generation (Demigods)		Residence	Source
	Male	Female				
	Abokurayan	Tariburayan			Orchid Island	Chien, 1994, p. 91 & Pu, 2012, p. 38
Kuraluts	Unnamed*	*	*	*	Orchid Island	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 91
Kiwit	Sera	Nakaw	*	*	Tawrayan	Pu, 2012, p. 38
Qimei	Sera	Nakaw	Tapang Masera	Nakaw	Tawrayan	Pu, 2012, p. 101–102
	Kakumodan Sappatorroku	Budaihabu	Sura	Nakao	Taurayan	Frazer, 2013, p. 106 & Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101
Tafalong	Keseng	Madapidap	*	*	Cilangasan	Pu. 2012, p. 39
Nanshih	Keseng	Madapidap			Panapanayan	Pu, 2012, p. 100–101
Nanshih	Keseng	Madapidap	Dadakiolo (M), Tadi'afo (M), Aputok (M), Doci (M), Lalakan (F), & Tiyamacan (F)		Panapanayan	Pu, 2012, p. 100–101
Mataian	Cihcih	Di'sil	*	*		Pu, 2012 p. 38
Vataan	Mareyap	Maswan	Arayan	Maalengo		Ferrell, 1969, p. 54
	Buton	Kumi				Hsu, 1956, p. 167

Notes: * = name unstated. M = Male; F = Female. Sura and Sera are alternate spellings of the same deity. Nakaw and Nakao are alternate spellings of the same deity.

TABLE 2 Amis origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Location
1	Creator god & Drift		Jhiben
2	Creator god & Bamboo	1 male, 1 female	Taitung City
3	Creator god		Orchid Island
4		1 male, 1 female	Orchid Island
5		1 male, 1 female	Tawrayan
6	Sun and Moon (gods)	1 male, 1 female	Panapanayan
7		1 male, 1 female	
8		1 male, 1 female	
9	Creator gods	1 male, 1 female	
10			
11	Gods dispatched to Earth	1 male, 1 female	Good & bad gods
12		1 male, 1 female	
13	Goddess drops puwa plant	1 person	Cosmic vessel
14	Lightning strikes tree	1 male, 2 females	
15	Stone origin	2 Tribes	Orchid Island
16		1 person	Orchid Island & Sanasay
17			Arapanay

TABLE 2 Amis origin motifs (*cont.*)

Text	Origin type	New beings	Location
18	Stone origin	2 people	Arapanay
19		2 Tribes	Aranpai

Note: Amis texts 20–26 are discussed in Chapter 4 *Drift Origin Themes*.

2 The Atayal Myths

The majority of the 21 Atayal primary anthropogonic myths included in the current study offer variations on the stone origin narrative theme and include the motif of birds and wind that facilitated the emergence from a stone. It has been reported that the actual boulder from which the Atayal people emerged is located at Pinsabukan near Masitobaon Village in Nantou (Kim, 1980, p. 147). However, creation by the gods as well as feces, chthonic and tree origin myths are also known among various Atayal phratries.

Two Atayal texts explicitly adhere to the creation of man by gods. In the first, a goddess brought her son to Big Snow Mountain. The mother married her son and their offspring became the ancestors (Rau, 1992, p. 242). Also, as cited above, another Atayal phratry believes that:

> In the beginning of the world, a god and two goddesses came down to a huge rock on a hilltop and the rock was split up into two parts. It naturally formed the Grand Palace. The gods named this place ancestors' place and lived here peacefully. One day, the god said to the goddesses, "Let's create offspring!" The goddesses kept smiling. Though they touched each other with eyes and mouths, they could not feel each other's passion. When they were thinking about various methods, a fly suddenly flew to a certain part of the goddess and stopped. The gods realized the "complementary parts" right away and learned how to have offspring. They had sexual intercourse from then on and bore several sons. They were ancestors of human beings. (Pu, 2012, p. 197)

It has been observed that "According to oral history, the ancestors of Mrqwang, Knazi, and Malipa all came from Pinsbkan (the split stone), the origin of the

Atayal people in the central mountain range" (Kuan, 2013, p. 121). Further detail on this myth indicates that the stone from which the ancestors originated "rose up from the ground" (Eisenberg, 2019, p. 103). This narrative corresponds heavily with the following Atayal text:

> At patsupak mayan, a moss-covered stone split and the ancestors were born. They were two men and one woman who lived for a long time. They had four children. (Hsu, 1956, p. 154)

Other sources record that the stone split in Taichung's Big Snow Mountain and that "many people" emerged from the stone en masse. (Rau, 1992, p. 243)

According to the Bangatseq Atayal, a female protoplast emerged from a collapsed boulder at inkahol'an. Later she sat upon a stone at the summit of the mountain where she spread her legs and allowed the wind to blow into her womb. Impregnated by the wind, she later gave birth to a son who she eventually married (Tsai, 1996, p. 88 & Ho, 1967, p. 238). This myth incorporates the stone genesis, immaculate conception, and mother-son incest as key themes in the origin of the protoplasts.

Other narratives indicate that it was a combination of birds and a stone that spawned the first men. One myth describes a god and two goddesses (Pu, 2012, p. 197) who were hidden in a giant stone near the peak of Papak Waqa and were discovered by a crow and a ssilig bird who functioned as catalysts in the origin of man. The ssilig is a venerated oracle for the Atayal. It is said that the ssilig continuously prayed for the gods to be delivered of the stone, and, eventually, the bird's prayer was answered and the demigods burst forth from the stone (Pu, 2012, p. 146) which is also said to have been located in the sea, east of Pinsbkan (Obayashi, 1966, p. 3) or in Nantou near Masitobaon Village (Kim, 1980, p. 147). A third being emerged from the stone but when the first two refused to bathe him, he cursed the first two causing the origin of death and immediately reentered the stone (Pu, 2012, p. 33).

In another rendition of the bird and stone genesis, it is said that the protoplasts emerged from a stone after the p'isiojakk bird flew over a large stone outcropping overlooking the sea to the east of p'insabaka. The stone cracked and two people appeared. They had seven children who grew up and married each other (Hsu, 1956, p. 155).

Yet another Atayal text indicates that once, on a mountain called Bapunko'lo, there were birds that wanted to move a large stone. So, the ssilig bird flew over and threw the baba stone into the water causing it to crack. After that,

male and female protoplasts emerged from the bird-dropped stone (some say there were four men and women). These were the ancestors (Tsai, 1996, p. 87).

A Pyanan variation on the bird opening the cosmic stone narrative is presented thus:

> In the chaos period, there was a large rock on top of the mountain Papak Waqa, which no one could remove. One day, all the birds were gathered there to have a meeting to select a leader. One suggested that whoever could remove this large rock would be their leader. Everyone agreed to this. Only the smallest spirit bird, named Sisin, could remove that large rock after all other birds had tried. The large rock rolled down from the top of the mountain into the valley, where it broke into two pieces. A man appeared from one side and a woman appeared from the other side; they then became the ancestors of the Tayal. (Chang, 2012, p. 246)

It was also discovered via interviews with Kngayan Atayal that a unique variation on the above text implies that the cosmic stone was opened sonically: "Until a wonderful pecking sound emerged from the spirit bird, Sisin, who pecked at the large rock and caused it to be broken … the spirit bird Sisin became the leader of the birds" (Chang, 2012, p. 247).

In Norbeck's 1950 translation of traditions that were first published circa 1920, one Atayal origin myth states that:

> … there was a very large stone. It split in two suddenly and two men and one woman emerged from the place where it cleaved. When they looked about them, their surroundings were just deep virgin forests and wild beasts. Thereupon one of the men said, "I don't like living on earth," and re-entered the severed place in the stone, so it is said. (Norbeck, 1950, p. 13)

Astonishingly, 90 years later, between 2009–2011, in his doctoral dissertation, Walis Chang recorded the following text from the Kngayan Atayal phratry:

> There were two men and a woman who emerged from the large broken rock which was located at the top of mountain of Papak Waqa. One of the men saw animals and forests so he said 'I do not want to live here.' Then he went back inside the large rock, and the other two could not stop him in time. – *The participants all agreed that they had never heard such tribal texts from the tribal elders before.* (Chang, 2012, p. 247)

The remarkable similarities in core details of these two narratives are a testament to Riftin's finding that Formosan oral histories "have been passed on through the generations intact" (Riftin, 2001, p. 212).

Other sources point to a chthonic origin of the first Atayal. It is said that one day, a cliff at Pinsbkan, became two caves out of which the protoplasts emerged (Tien, 2003, p. 32). Similar to this underworld origin is the Malepa myth which is predicated on the protoplasts originating in a large pile at Dabaijan Mountain, which reeked like human feces. A large earthquake caused the land to split into several pieces and a man and woman came out. They were the protoplasts (Hsu, 1956, p. 156).

While all of the other Atayal anthropogonic myths that include birds incorporate the motif of a stone origin, one text from Wantai omits any mention of stones and instead describes the transformation of birds, directly into the protoplasts. It is said that after the crows were swept away by a current the ts'I'p'it-si'ip'I birds were left alone causing them to transform into the protoplasts who became husband and wife (Hsu, 1956, p. 156).

The last major motif that is expressed among the Kalapai Atayal is predicated on a stone inside a tree root genesis; a vessel within a vessel. "A giant tree at p'atsp'akuaka had a split root with a stone in the middle. The stone cracked and a man and a woman appeared. They got married and had children" (Hsu, 1956, p. 155).

TABLE 3 Atayal origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1	Creator gods		Mother-son incest, Tattoo & Mt. Snow
2	1 god, 2 goddesses	Many	Fly teaches sex
3	Birds open cosmic stone	1 male, 1 female	
4		1 male, 1 female	
5		Many	
6		1 male, 1 female	
7		1 male, 1 female	
8	Birds transform into protoplasts	1 male, 1 female	

TABLE 3 Atayal origin motifs (*cont.*)

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
9	Stone genesis	2 males, 1 female	1 man returns to stone
10		2 males, 1 female	1 man returns to stone
11		2 males, 1 female	1 man returns to stone
12		2 males, 1 female	Fly teaches sex
13			
14		1 male, 1 female	Chthonic
15		1 male, 1 female	Tattoo
16		2 males, 1 female	
17		1 female, 1 male	(Wind) Mother-son incest
18		En masse	Mt. Snow
19	Chthonic	1 male, 1 female	Feces & Earthquake
20		1 male, 1 female	
21	Stone in cosmic tree root	1 male, 1 female	Double cosmic vessel

3 The Bunun Myths

What the Bunun lack in cosmogonic myths (Riftin, 2001, p. 195), they compensate for with the variety of their oral traditions related to the genesis and creation of the protoplasts. Twenty-four Bunun anthropogonic myths including one drift text compiled for the present work reference man's creation by deities from heaven, birth from strange creatures, arrival on earth in cosmic

vessels such as gourds, flowers, ladles and ceramic vessels, transformation from insects, worms or giants, and genesis from feces, mold, taro and stones.

Though discovered as little more than a fragment, Takivatan oral literature indicates that in the beginning, seven women resided on the Earth. Subsequently, five men fell from the sky, and soon after, the women gave birth to the protoplasts (Riftin, 2001, p. 196 & Hsu, 1956, p. 159). While this account shares the sky origin of the cosmic vessels texts, it is the sole Bunun creation myth that specifically references the descent of divine ancestors from the sky therein claiming that mankind sprung from a divine lineage. However, the sole Bunun origin text concerning giants, says that the protoplasts were born from the toes of a dead giantess who created the Earth (Hung & Lin, 2021). Both of these creation texts appear to contradict Riftin's finding that "The Bunun have no concept of a deity or creator" (2001, p. 196).

Six Bunun traditions attribute the origins of the protoplasts to cosmic vessels such as gourds, insects, flowers, ladles, pots and larva. In all of these, a single male and a single female ancestor were created off-world and sent to Earth. The present study confirms Ho's finding that the only tribe that attributes the origins of man to emerging from a gourd is the Bunun (Ho, 1967, p. 64). The Ivaxo Bunun genesis myth states that in the beginning, a gourd fell from heaven carrying a man and a woman. It shattered and they emerged becoming the ancestors of humanity (Hsu, 1956, p. 159; Ho, 1967, p. 246–247 & Riftin, 2001, p. 195). The gourd origin motif is found with the Masuhuaz (Hiroshi, 2009, p. 157) as well as the Kuphong (Chang, 2012, p. 244) phratries. In a minor variation on this motif, the Bahafuru origin myth concurs that mankind was born from a cosmic gourd ladle and a clay pot. The ladle gave birth to a man and the pot gave birth to a woman. These were the protoplasts (Riftin, 2001, p. 195; Hsu, 1956, p. 159 & Ou, 2017, p. 23).

Other phratries insist that, in ancient times as the cosmic gourd fell to Earth, it was concealed within the petals of a red flower. After landing, a winged worm called Sokkalu emerged out of the gourd and gradually transformed into the protoplast (Tsai, 1996, p. 67). An alternate version states that during the setting of the sun, a beautiful insect with wings appeared from the sun. One day, the bug transformed into a humanoid. It had many descendants (Ou, 2017, p. 25).

Another adaptation of the insect origin motif states that one day a bee larva fell from the sky. It transformed into a man. Likewise, a woman emerged from a gourd (Fang, 2016, p. 124).

A further prominent motif in the Bunun origin myths is related to transformation from insects. According to the Tungpu phratry, worms and crickets gave birth to mankind (Riftin, 2001, p. 196). However other sources claim that it was actually a potato beetle that transformed into the protoplast (Pache, 1964, p. 133).

Differently, in the beginning, a Kulatto worm was lying on the ground. Pokulau came and after feeding Kulatto, Pokulau told him to stand up but Kulatto didn't know how. Then a mosquito bit Kulatto so he got up and began to walk. Later Kulatto gave birth to two children who are the ancestors (Tsai, 1996, p. 68). Among the Tamatho'wan phratry, it is said that the protoplasts transformed from taro worms which kept crawling faster and faster enabling the evolution into man (Hsu, 1956, p. 159). This text appears to be related to the Tanapima Bunun myth saying that the protoplasts were born from red taro (Hsu, 1956, p. 159). Finally, another phratry states that boneless humanoids were discovered crawling on the land by insects. Being surrounded by bugs, the humanoids stood up, transformed into humans, and walked away. Later, they were taught the act of coitus by well-informed birds (Pu, 2012, p. 30).

Six Bunun anthropogonic myths are predicated on the feces genesis theme. One such oral history indicates that "the first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky" (De Busser, 2009, p. 630). However, the Take-'banoat Bunun myth claims that the protoplasts were born from dog feces at the foot of a great mountain (Pu, 2012, p. 30; Riftin, 2001, p. 196 & Hsu, 1956, p. 158). Meanwhile, the Ganchuowan and the Taiso-ulavan phratries believe that the first people emerged from holes that a worm called ha'doha'do had, a fortnight prior, cast balls of feces into (Ou, 2017, p. 24 & Hsu, 1956, p. 158).

> In the chaos period, there was a place named Mintungulu where two holes showed up on the ground. A worm named Haluhallu rolled up her feces into two balls and placed them into the holes. After a while, a man came out of one hole and a woman came out of the other one to become the ancestors of human beings. (Chang, 2012, p. 245)

Still, other phratries attribute the origin of the protoplasts to a "dung pile made by spiders" (Jhong, 2018, p. 10). One of the most unique feces origin texts comes from the Banita Tansikian phratry which asserts that the protoplast was born from the hairy white mold that grows on feces (Hsu, 1956, p. 158).

Most iterations of the Bunun genesis myth involve insect feces which is basis for the practice of adopting insects as totems and instituting taboos against harming insects (Riftin, 2001, p. 197). Traditionally, these myths were taken very seriously and were even the rationale for behaviors and taboos. "In the past, when people saw spiders making dung piles, they would help them, and it was forbidden to kill spiders" (Jhong, 2018). The Truku, by contrast, crush spiders when they can, believing spiders to be transformed soul-eating crabs (Kim, 1980, p. 201). Also, traditional Bunun believed that if a cricket was

observed chirping within a house, that house was destined for calamity (Baudhuin, 1960, p. 663) or if a centipede was observed "moving its feet in a strange manner" that rain could be expected (Baudhuin, 1960, p. 662). Chen, Huei Jung reasonably speculates that the Bunun insect feces origin myths are the basis for the taking of insect totems and the prohibition against harming or killing these animals (Riftin, 2001, p. 197).

On a side note, when I visited a 7–11 in the Bunun village of Haituan, Taitung in May 2022, I observed that there was a cricket loudly chirping within the shop. However, to my surprise, none of the locals, most of whom are Bunun, paid any attention to this evil omen, as it was traditionally interpreted.

Another Bunun genesis myth from the Tamarowan phratry recalls how a fissure on a huge stone on Emebal Mountain dilated allowing many people that were within it to escape. These first men who were born en masse became the protoplasts (Ho, 1967, p. 239). Another telling of the same myth includes the motif of a loud "boom" accompanying the splitting of the stone (Ou, 2017, p. 25).

TABLE 4 Bunun origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1	Gods	2 males	Many gods fall for women
2	Giantess corpse		Transformation
3	Cosmic gourd	1 male, 1 female	
4		1 male, 1 female	
5	Cosmic (sun) insect		Transformation
6	Cosmic gourd flower		Double cosmic vessel, insect Transformation
7	Cosmic – 1 ladle & 1 pot	1 male, 1 female	

TABLE 4 Bunun origin motifs (*cont.*)

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
8	Cosmic Bee larva – male Cosmic Gourd – Woman	1 male, 1 female	Transformation
9	Kulatto worm gives birth to man	2 people	
10	Transformation – Insect		Worm & Cricket
11	Transformation – Potato beetle	1 person	
12	Transformation – Taro worms	Many	
13	Transformation – Boneless beings		Insect guardians Birds as teachers
14	Feces – Spider		
15	Feces – Dog		
16	Feces – Sky		
17	Feces – Taro beetle	1 male, 1 female	Double cosmic vessel
18	Feces – Worm		
19	Feces – Worm		Double cosmic vessel
20	Feces – Mold		
21	Taro		
22	Stone (Sun catalyst)	En masse	
23		En masse	
24	Drift		

4 The Favorlang Myths

Favorlang is an extinct Formosan language that was formerly spoken in western Taiwan (Blust, 2013, p. 51). Much of the textual information available on Favorlang-speaking tribes was produced by VOC catechists in the early-mid 1600s. Though it has been previously claimed that "we have no Favorlang traditions nor descriptions of their religious observances," (Ferrell, 1969, p. 170), in fact, some relevant information was preserved by the VOC catechists. Based on Jacob Vertrecht's 1650 *Dialogue Between a Favorlanger and a Dutch Stranger* the following is evident concerning Favorlang origin myths:

1. Origin myths concerning a creator god named Haibos were orally passed down from generation to generation within the tribe (Campbell, 1896, p. 23).
2. The Favorlang offered sacrifices to Haibos (Campbell, 1896, p. 37).
3. Haibos was venerated as the creator of man, the Earth and the cosmos (Campbell, 1896, p. 24).
4. People communicated with Haibos through priestesses (Campbell, 1896, p. 32) and ornithomancy (Campbell, 1896, p. 25).

According to the text, "Haibos has declared that he makes even Adam (a small bird) to sing and to prophesy … Haibos says that he has formed man, that he causes the sun to rise, and that he fertilizes the fruits of the fields" (Campbell, 1896, p. 24).

5 The Hla'alua Myths

Regrettably, as of 50 years ago, it was observed that the Hla'alua "cultural identity has been almost lost, their Sinicization having started already in the earliest part of the 18th century" (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 294). Nevertheless, it has been preserved in oral tradition that the ancestors of the "Hla'alua and Tsou were siblings, but separated by a flood" (Lujhu, 2019). Linguistic analysis has confirmed that the Hla'alua (Saaroa) and Kanakanavu "may have separated (from Tsou) some 800 years ago" (Wild, 2018, p. 25). Politically, the Hla'alua and Kanakanavu were considered phratries of the Tsou tribe prior to their official recognition in June 2014 by the ROC's Executive Yuan. Cognizant of this linguistic evidence as well as oral and political histories, it is surprising that the earliest Hla'alua myths initiate with the Shooting of the Sun mythologem which temporally precedes the deluge tradition. Despite this, the flood myth, of which at least eight texts can be attributed (Gauss, 2022, p. 74) remains the backstory for the Hla'alua tribe's most sacred festival called the *Miatungusu*

(聖貝祭) or Sacred Shell Festival. Due to these reasons, no Hla'alua anthropogonic myths were discovered during the literature review. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Hla'alua origin texts are preserved within the Tsou corpus, perhaps mislabeled as *Southern Tsou*.

6 The Kanakanavu Myths

Three Kanakanavu anthropogonic myths are known. According to the ROC's Council of Indigenous Peoples (CIP), the Kanakanavu were created en masse by the god Parumaci who found life with his mother Niun tough and lonely. According to that creation myth, one day:

> Parumaci stood up suddenly and kicked the trunk of a karu ~~suru~~ (Jiatan tree) with red leaves. All the leaves fell down and overlapped one another. Then, they became a house. Parumaci kicked the tree again, and the fallen leaves became men, hundreds of men, and Parumaci became their chief, forming a village. (CIP-Kanakanavu)

The Kanakanavu myth is an outlier in its account of "hundreds of men" being created at the same time. Few other Formosan anthropogonic myths incorporate the motif of human creation en masse. Instead, the majority of tribal traditions describe small groups, typically three or less, as being the first created men. Nevertheless, a number of tribes do describe such an event and this issue is examined in depth in Chapter 5 herein.

Despite the CIP's erroneous claim that the aforementioned creation myth is "the only legend relating to the Kanakanavu origin," Mabuchi cites an alternative Kanakanavu genesis/creation myth which was published in the *Survey Reports on the Customs of the Formosan Aborigines* of 1920.

> A female deity was born from a rock. Because there was nothing to eat, she asked the heavenly deity for some food. The heavenly deity gave her fish, animals and rice. At that time, it was enough to boil have a grain of rice for a meal, because it swelled enough to fill a cooking pot. She met a male deity eating sand of the river bed, and she married him. (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88)

In the CIP's version, the son of a goddess functions as the creator god while the 1920s record describes genetically unrelated deities who create mankind through their marriage.

According to Hiroshi, the location where the gods Parumaci and Niun lived was Anguana Mountain. "When a flood hit in ancient times, people escaped to this mountain. After the flood subsided, they moved into the territory presently settled by the Southern Tsou and became the ancestors of the Kanakanavu group" (Hiroshi, 2000, p. 7). Though it can be difficult to identify Formosan place names which generally appear on no maps, an electronic search for *Anguana* turned up a 2013 Taiwan News article titled *Linguist Races to Save Aboriginal Language* which states "in the background the bamboo and palm tree covered contours of Mount Anguana protruded through a moving blanket of fog and mist, and a thin rain fell in the Nanzihsian River (楠梓仙溪) valley below" (Enav, 2013). The Nanzihsian River can be found on multiple maps and lies in a valley at the foot of Jade Mountain. Therefore, *Anguana* or *Ang'uana* (Wild, 2018, p. 58) proves to be one of the Kanakanavu names for Jade Mountain.

7 The Kavalan Myths

While the majority of the Kavalan oral texts rely on a drift origin motif, one Kavalan text chronicles the creation of the first ancestor. According to Kavalan shamans known as *mtiyu* (Shimizu, 1998, p. 32), the creator goddess Mutumazu, also known as Salamay Ziyanan and the god-man Siangaw Ziyanan are revered as the progenitors. Mutumazu descended from heaven and married Siangaw thereafter giving birth to a boy who died as an infant (Shimizu, 1998, p. 89–126). It is said that there was a sort of people called *tzai* who could freely travel between the celestial realms and the earthly realm in the beginning of the world (Shimizu, 1998, p. 348).

Specific details are not provided about how other humans were created. However, the text strongly implies that they were also the children of Mutumazu and Siangaw since "There were as yet no other people in the world, only Mutumazu" (Shimizu, 1998, p. 89). The text further suggests that Mutumazu gave birth to numerous children who populated the world while going great lengths to describe how the death of one child prompted Mutumazu to educate other humans regarding several healing rituals.

8 The Paiwan Myths

"When people first came to the world, the Paiwan called themselves adidan which means friends of the land or caretakers of the land" (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 4,

FIGURE 3 Shihzih Paiwan origin mosaic and text. Public art display. Medium: tile mosaic. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, JANUARY 20, 2022 AT SHIHZIH JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IN SHIMEN, PINGTUNG

p. 42–82). It wasn't until the postdiluvian era that they began to refer to themselves as Paiwan.

The Paiwan compendium has the richest recorded selection of primary anthropogonic myths of any tribe. Forty-seven texts, including 15 which are translated from Mandarin and five which are translated from German indicate 9 distinct creation narrative themes and 3 genesis narrative themes.

8.1 *Paiwan Creation Motifs*

Paiwan creation motifs include (1) *Ancestors from Heaven,* (2) *Creator Gods,* (3) *Animal ancestor,* (3.1) *Animal to Human Transformation,* (3.2) *Animal Egg,* (4) *Cosmic* (*Sun*) *Eggs,* (5) *Cosmic* (*Moon*) *Eggs,* (6) *Cosmic* (*Sun*) *Stones,* (7) *Cosmic Ceramic Pots,* (8) *Cosmic Bamboo* and (9) *Cosmic Lightning.* The seemingly inanimate vessels which are described as stones, pots, bamboo and lightning are instruments of the gods which are used to transport the protoplasts to Earth. In over a quarter of the creation texts, the protoplasts are said to have had guardians who helped them emerge from their cosmic vessels and protected them during the fragility of infancy. These guardians are identified as

snakes, dogs, cats, birds and the gods. The gods delivered the cosmic vessels to Earth and used their voices and breath to cause the protoplasts to emerge from the vessels and grow into existence.

As is illustrated in Table 5, approximately half of the Paiwan creation texts incorporate multiple creation types. For example, some texts include creation types (2) *Creator Gods* and (3) *Animal ancestor* in myths that describe gods who create the protoplasts by transforming an animal into a human. As such, classifying each text according to a single creation type is not always possible. Nevertheless, the Paiwan texts are presented herein based loosely upon creation type.

TABLE 5 Paiwan creation motifs

Text	Type(s)	#	Created beings	Other motifs
1.	1			
2.	3.1, 6	1	Snake man	Singing
3.	4, 5	2	1 male, 1 female	Singing
4.	4	2	1 male, 1 female	Snake guardian
5.	4	4	4 people (2 pairs)	Snake guardians
6.	2, 3.1, 3.2	2	4 people (2 pairs)	Snake eggs, Goddess guardian
7.	4	3	1 male, 1 female	Snake eats sun egg, Egg in swing basin
8.	4	3	2 people	Snake eats sun egg
9.	4	2	1 male, 1 female	Snake guardian
10.	4	1	1 person	Washed by the sun
11.	2, 4	4	3 males, 1 female	Dog & Cat guardians
12.	4	2	*1 male, 1 female	Chthonic, Snake guardian
13.	4	2	1 male, 1 female	Dog, Cat, & Bird guardians
14.	4	3	2 males, 1 female	Dog & Cat guardians
15.	4, 7	1	1 male, 1 female	Person guardian (Chthonic)
16.	6	2	Dwarves – En masse	Spirit guardians, Singing
17.	2, 8	1	*6 people (3 pairs)	
18.	2, 3.2		1 male, 1 female	Breath of god, Snake eggs, Snake guardian
19.	2		Snakes – En masse	God-human hybrid
20.	2		En masse	Speaking, God guardians
21.	2		En masse	Singing
22.	2		5 people	Creator gods
23.	2, 6, 8	1	2 people (1 bamboo, 1 stone)	
24.			14 people (7 pairs)	Magic, Speaking

TABLE 5 Paiwan creation motifs (*cont.*)

Text	Type(s)	#	Created beings	Other motifs
25.	3		14 people (7 pairs)	Dog
26.	3		1 male	Dog
27.	1			God-human hybrid
28.	3, 7	3		Dog guardian, Snake
29.	2, 4	2	1 male, 1 female	Chthonic
30.	2, 3, 4	3		Snake Thief, Bowl, Swing
31.	2, 3, 3.2	2	*En masse	Goddess retrieves snake ancestors from underworld
32.	2, 3, 3.2	2	*People	Goddess retrieves snake and turtle ancestors from underworld
33.	1, 2	7		Cosmogonic
34.	2, 6	2	1 male, 1 female	
35.	4, 6, 8	2		Animate eggs
36.	3.1, 4, 8	4	*Reptilians, En masse	Animate eggs
37.	2, 6, 8, 9	2	1 female, 1 snake	Bamboo girl eats stone snake

Note: 1. Column "#" indicates the number of cosmic vessels described. 2. An asterisk "*" indicates that at least some of the created beings were physically deformed. 3. Types assigned by number as follows: (1) *Ancestors from Heaven,* (2) *Creator Gods,* (3) *Animal ancestor,* (3.1) *Animal to Human Transformation,* (3.2) *Animal Egg,* (4) *Cosmic* (*Sun*) *Eggs,* (5) *Cosmic Moon Eggs,* (6) *Cosmic* (*Sun*) *Stones,* (7) *Cosmic Ceramic Pots,* (8) *Cosmic Bamboo* and (9) *Cosmic Lightning.*

8.1.1 Ancestors from Heaven

An early source indicates that the Parizarizao phratry traditions say that "their ancestors came down from heaven" (Davidson, 1903, p. 576). The Butsul likewise say that the ancestor Satakaraws descended from Dawu mountain and married sachijoke chijoke from the plains (Hsu, 1956, p. 164).

8.1.2 Creator Gods

Other phratries believe that the first people were created by a god or the gods. According to a creation myth recited in Laiyi, in the beginning, there was a beautiful woman who found favor in the eyes of a god. The god performed coitus with her and the female gave birth to numerous snakes which transformed into human beings (Pu, 2012, p. 26).

In one text, the gods Kulelelele and Pulelelelengan who lived in the sky created the Earth and everything in it. Thereafter, the son, Pulelelelengan

traveled to Earth to teach mankind about his father Kulelelele (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430). Kulelelele is venerated in both the Rukai and Paiwan tribes as a cultural hero and god. According to the Taiwu (Kuljaljuc) Paiwan phratry, Kulelelele, also spelled *Kuljelje* is a hundred-pace snake god who was created by the sun.

One method by which the gods created man was through singing and speaking. "Human beings and millet were both created by singing. The songs were prayers and they sounded like the cicada chirping mingming." The gods were also called *milimilingan* as an onomatopoeia for the sound made by the cicadas (Pu, 2012, p. 165). However, strictly speaking, *milimilingan* (also spelled *mirimiringan*) means *ancient events* (Hung, 2019, p. 287) or *old history* (Egli, 1989, p. 8–9).

The theme of multiple children being born from the protoplasts is found in the Sapudeq Paiwan oral tradition. According to the Sapudeq phratry, "The ancestral deities had five children and all of them dwelt on the slope of Mt. Kavurungan." The oldest child created wild animals; The second child created fish; The third child created pigs; The fourth child created millet and tubers; The youngest child created one kind of millet and goosefoot (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 87).

The Padain Paiwan primary anthropogonic myth indicates that, in the beginning, there were seven holy siblings who appeared near the summit of Dawu Mountain. One of these flew into the sky and assumed the role of the god of thunder while another traveled to live by the sea. Prior to departing, they enjoined the remaining five siblings to sacrifice two colorful pigs every five years. This chronicles the origin of the Five-year Festival known as *Maljeveq* (Maleveq) (Pu, 2012, p. 285).

8.1.3 Animal Ancestor

Other texts attribute the birth of humanity to a dog ancestor that gave birth to the protoplasts (Egli, 1989, p. 28). The Gulou text states that in the beginning, a strange dog that was stuck between two trees gave birth to the protoplasts (Hsu, 1956, p. 163). Other multiple creation type texts also speak of the dog ancestors and others tell of snake ancestors.

8.1.4 Animal to Human Transformation

Although none of the texts in the Paiwan compendium rely strictly on an animal to human transformation creation type, for illustrative purposes, the Kulaljuc fragment text, which also includes creation types 2 and 6 is presented. That tradition tells of the aforementioned snake-man named Kulelelele (or *Kuljeljeljelje*) who was born from a cosmic egg (Pu, 2012, p. 23).

8.1.5 Animal Egg

One myth which also includes a type 2 creation reference as it describes how god created the protoplasts by breathing life into snake eggs:

> In the beginning, god created the world and all kinds of animals with the exception of human beings … He gathered together all the snakes … God saw the most beautiful one and chose it to create something new. He breathed his breath into the snake's eggs … A few days later, one man and one woman hatched out of two of the snake's eggs. When God saw this, he felt very joyful and satisfied. In order to protect these two creatures, he commanded the snake to stay near them and to watch over them … They became the leaders of the first group of Paiwan. (Lai, 2010, p. 24)

8.1.6 Cosmic (Sun) Eggs

Certain Paiwan phratries self-identify as *Alaq na qadaw* meaning "Children of the Sun" (Lai, 2010, p. 21), an allusion to their most common origin myth which declares that in the beginning, the sun laid some cosmic eggs (Vungalid Paiwan believe the eggs were all red (Chiang, 2007, p. 42)) out of which the ancestors emerged.

By definition, creation type 4, *Cosmic* (*Sun*) *Eggs* includes creation type 2 *Creator gods* because the cosmic eggs were all dispatched to the earth by the sun, a deity. The number of cosmic eggs sent can be as few as one or as many as four, but usually it is two. The plurality of the type 4 texts initiates with the recitation that "the sun came down to earth and laid the eggs." With that caveat in mind, nine of the Paiwan myths rely 'strictly' on a type 4 creation motif.

The myth in its most basic form chronicles how the Sun laid an egg on a mountain top, or in one case in "Tjuaalabus Rhuvaniau" from which the protoplast Lemej emerged to be washed by the Sun (Egli, 1989, p. 31). One narrative states that two cosmic eggs, one gold and one blue were laid by the Sun. The serpent was appointed by the Sun to act as the guardian of the eggs from which the protoplasts emerged (Admin. 2016a). Another text says that four eggs were laid, two of which were guarded by a green snake and two of which were guarded by a hundred-pacer (Admin. 2016b).

Alternatively, the Pailjus people say that when the Sun laid an egg it was eaten by a snake. After the snake was caught, the sun laid two replacement eggs out of which two boys emanated (Pu, 2012, p. 22). In a variation on this narrative, according to the Makazayazaya phratry, the replacement egg was laid in a wooden basin and after it was swung by the sun for five days, a girl was born. Later, a third egg was laid and a boy came out of it (Pu, 2012, p. 22).

This motif is echoed in the Makazayazaya Paiwan myth that says the two Sun eggs, one red and one white, which were laid on Chokaborogan Mountain and hatched by the Vorun snake gave birth to the ancestors of the nobles while the ancestors of the commoners originated from the eggs of a green snake (Ho, 1967, p. 249). An alternative interpretation of the same text pontificates that the cosmic eggs were *fertilized* rather than *bitten* by the serpent (Ferrell, 1969, p. 44).

The outer wall of Shihzih Junior High School in Pingtung is adorned with two Paiwan creation myths accompanied by a large mosaic illustration (see Figure 3). Following are translations of these two texts:

Paiwan Text 12:

> The children of the Sun were born at Dawu Mountain (avulungan). Under a four-meter-tall square milky white stone (vucelacelai a tjagulj), there were two eggs. The sun shined on the eggs which were being protected by a hundred-pace snake. Soon after, a man and a woman were born. They had children but the children were deformed and missing limbs. It wasn't until the third generation that the people became fully formed. (Shihzih Junior High School, 2018)

Paiwan Text 13:

> Once, the Sun laid two eggs at Jiling (tjimu). One day a dog was walking by and all the sudden, the eggs began to make loud sounds. Two strangely shaped giant eggs were on the ground. The dog barked at the eggs. The barking was so loud that the clouds departed. A cat heard the sound and ran to the sound. The cat was frightened but, when it saw the dog barking at the eggs, it used its claws to touch the eggs. Not long after, the giant eggs started moving and there was a sound and the eggs cracked. Then a man and a woman came out of the eggs. A bird saw what happened and it flew to meet the two people and called out to them. The bird named the man *puljaljuyan* and named the woman *tjuku*. These were the protoplasts. (Shihzih Junior High School, 2018)

The Ravar phratry subscribes to the cosmic sun egg motif as well. According to the text, three eggs descended into a pool where a dog guardian barked causing the pool to dry up. Then, a cat broke the eggs open and two boys and a girl were born (Hsu, 1956, p. 161).

8.1.7 Cosmic Moon Eggs

Within the corpus of Formosan anthropogonic myths, only one text describes the creation type 5, Cosmic (Moon) Egg motif. According to this Paiwan text, the Sun and the Moon laid one egg each. A male and female protoplast were born. The female, born from the moon egg, created the ancestors of the Paiwan by singing and the male protoplast taught them farming, hunting, weaving and witchcraft (Pu, 2012, p. 24).

8.1.8 Cosmic (Sun) Stones

The motif of a stone origin is found in a range of tribal traditions. However, most stone origin texts fall under the category of genesis motifs rather than creation motifs. Genesis myths chronicle man's spontaneous emergence from inanimate objects that have no connection to the sky or the gods. The cosmic stone origin motif is dissimilar from the stone genesis motif because the protoplasts in these texts are said to have been born from objects likened to "stones" that were intentionally transported to earth by deities.

It is said in the Tjaqovoqovilje phratry that after the sun laid one red stone and one green stone, the Milimilingan or holy ones sang to the stones and they split, giving birth to tiny people with a stature of just 3 inches tall. These tiny humanoid beings grew taller when sang to by the Milimilingan. The descendants of the red stone people are members of the royal caste while the descendants of the green stone people are commoners (Pu, 2012, p. 23–24).

The Kuvulj Tjaqovoqovi text, claims that the protoplasts, a male and a female were born from two stone eggs that were laid at the summit of Dawu Mountain by the sun god (Pu, 2012, p. 286).

8.1.9 Cosmic Ceramic Pots

Only two texts within the Paiwan compendium include the motif of cosmic ceramic pots. Both of these include multiple creation types. Rather than reserve these texts for the section describing multiple creation types, the two texts are presented herein. One Ravar narrative includes a combination of the cosmic egg motif along with a chthonic genesis. This myth states that the first man was born from an egg that was resting in a pot, while the first woman was born from the earth. (Pu, 2012, p. 21 & 24–25).

The other example of type 7 creation comes from the Gulou phratry. According to that text which includes an animal ancestor motif, three pots, one composed of gold, one of silver and one of clay appeared on a mountain.

> One day two dogs from Mt. Ka-vulungan bumped into the clay pot. A baby girl came out of the broken pot. When she grew up, she married

> the hundred-pace viper and gave birth to three children. The first child became the chief of Gulou Village. The second child became chief of Wutan Village, which is next to Gulou Village. And the third child was the ancestor of the bulingau (shameness) among the Paiwan. Thus, all the members of Gulou Village and its correlated groups thought they were the offspring of the Clay Pot Woman and the hundred paced viper. (Lai, 2010, p. 29)

8.1.10 Cosmic Bamboo

Some Paiwan texts incorporate creation type 8 *Cosmic Bamboo* into origin narratives. All of these examples include multiple creation types. In the most basic form, the myth tells of protoplasts who emerged from bamboo which had been planted by a god in Revuaqan (called *Revoaqan* in Puyuma texts). One source claims that upon emerging from this cosmic bamboo, "they had no eyes, ears, or noses and couldn't talk. A year later, another pair was born, but they were monstrous as well. Finally, in the third year, fully developed people were born and they multiplied" (Egli, 1989, p. 32).

8.1.11 Cosmic Lightning

Creation type 9 is found in just one Paiwan text. This text, which incorporates multiple creation types including 2, 6 and 8, describe two separate lightning strikes. The first lightning strike targeted a stock of cosmic bamboo and a woman was created. The second lightning strike hit the stone which had previously supported said stock of bamboo and created a giant serpent. The lightning woman ate the lightning serpent which caused her to become pregnant. Later she gave birth to male-female twins who became the ancestors of all Paiwan (Admin. 2016d).

8.1.12 Multiple Creation Types

The following texts integrate multiple creation types. As is illustrated in Table 5, approximately half of the Paiwan texts fall into this category and those are presented herein.

According to the Kuljaljau phratry a goddess found and protected eggs from two different kinds of serpents. Those who emerged from these eggs are the ancestors of the chieftains and commoners of the Paiwan (Pu, 2012, p. 24). Numerous variations on the cosmic egg creation motif including the Butsul text about the sun, Kada'o are known.

> Kada'o descended to Earth to lay eggs. A snake appeared and swallowed the eggs. A second time Kada'o laid eggs in a wooden bowl and placed it

FIGURE 4 Paiwan, the children of the sun
This artistic illustration depicts four beings being transported from the sky to Earth within the "sun." Outdoor art display. Medium: fresco on carved concrete. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, JANUARY 28, 2022 AT MUDAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, IN MUDAN, PINGTUNG

> on a swing wherefore, after five days a woman was born. A man was born from the other one. The man is the ancestor of the Japanese. The woman married a snake and had a son and two daughters. (Hsu, 1956, p. 162)

In a similar text, which could possibly be a secondary anthropogonic myth, the name Kada'o is shortened to Ada'o but refers to the same celestial character.

> Ada'o fell from the sky and laid two sun eggs at suchiruan na ada'o (Land of the Sun Egg). Under the eaves of the rovaniau family house there was a stone wall and it was forbidden to enter. The egg hatched. A man and a woman were born. They married each other and moved to djiadjiurutan. (Hsu, 1956, p. 162)

The Atsudas Paiwan origin myth, published in 1921 by Sayama and Onishi, is the quintessential Paiwan egg within bamboo, double cosmic vessel genesis

myth. This text states that in a place called Pinasbukasan a stock of bamboo grew and filled with water so quickly that it burst, releasing four "strange eggs." By night they became one egg but by day they separated into four eggs. After 5–6 days, reptilian men and women hatched from the transforming cosmic eggs. Not knowing how to copulate, a woman told a man to urinate between her thighs. They found the action interesting and pleasurable. Soon after, she bore a deformed child. Their second child was normal and handsome and from this offspring, the people multiplied (Ho, 1967, p. 243).

The Neishitou Paiwan origin myth also adheres to the double cosmic vessel origin motif of eggs within bamboo. It is said that the ancestors first appeared at Pinavavu'acan on Dawu Mountain:

> The water between the bamboo joints congealed and turned into two eggs. The bamboo split and the eggs dropped out. One egg was red and one was green. They grew bigger as the sunshine shined on them … They cracked open one day and two boys were born from the eggs … There was another small and brittle stone that split open and bore a black egg. This egg grew bigger as the sunshine shined on it. It cracked open later and a girl came out from the egg. These three human beings grew up and got married. (Pu, 2012, p. 286)

Another narrative claims that a goddess descended to Taimali holding bamboo in one hand and a stone in her other hand. The ancestors of the Amis sprang forth from the stone after she cast it to the ground. The ancestor of the Paiwan emerged from the bamboo after she stuck it into the soil (Fong, 2021, p. 27).

The Youbei Paiwan myth offers a unique variation on the creation of man by the gods. In this Youbei text, the background for the Paiwan caste system is provided and validated.

> A goddess lived in Amawan. One day she went too high on a swing and she fell into the underworld where she met another goddess named pururuaruyan. One day pururuaruyan was thirsty so, the goddess when to get her water. On the way she came across a hundred-pace snake egg and another snake egg and brought them both back. Not long after that, the hundred-pace snake egg gave birth to the ancestors of the chiefs. The other snake egg gave birth to the first commoners. When children from the two different lineages married, their children were born deformed so it became taboo for the two castes to intermarry. (Hsu, 1956, p. 162)

FIGURE 5 Stone and bamboo origins
This artistic illustration depicts a white-haired goddess with an Amis headdress bringing protoplasts to Earth within a stone and within a stock of bamboo. Medium: fresco on concrete.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, SEPTEMBER 14, 2023 AT NATIONAL TAITUNG UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES 4F, IN JHIBEN, TAITUNG

According to the Kuljaljau version of this myth, mankind was created by a goddess who resided at Kumauan:

> One day, as the goddess headed toward a nearby lake to fetch some drinking water, she noticed two serpent eggs lying upon the grass near her path. One was born to the Hundred-Pacer and the other to a Brown Spotted Pit Viper. The goddess picked up the eggs and took them home with her.
>
> Not long after, out of each egg emerged a pair of human babies. From the Hundred-Pacer's egg emerged the ancestors of the Paiwan and from the Brown Spotted Pit Viper's egg emerged the commoners. (Admin. 2016c & Pu, 2012, p. 24)

The Cimu Vutsul Paumaumaq Wangjia phratry has an oral tradition about the sun god who laid three eggs in a flooded pond. After the water abated, the eggs were disturbed by guardian animals causing them to break. A female and two male protoplasts were born. They were followed by a man who emerged from a green egg (Pu, 2012, p. 26).

There are some Paiwan creation myths regarding protoplasts of unknown origin that may be interpreted as gods since the texts clearly state that they

were no other people except them and based on the fact that they functioned as teachers and leaders rather than helpless seekers of deities. In two texts, fourteen children were born and intentionally separated into seven pairs who established seven tribes with seven different language dialects by the oldest two (Egli, 1989, p. 27–28 & p. 28–29).

8.2 *Paiwan Genesis Motifs*

Genesis motifs within the Paiwan compendium are limited to genesis from stones, bamboo and smoke. These texts omit any mention of gods or descending from heaven, and with the exception of the Parilarilao text, neglect to note any animals which might be construed to function as guardians or helpers of the protoplasts.

Further detail on creation types and genesis types is expounded in Chapter 3.

TABLE 6 Paiwan genesis motifs

Text	Type	Genesis beings	Other motifs
38.	Stone	1 male, 1 female	
39.		2 males, 2 females	
40.		1 female	
41.		1 female	
42.		1 male, 1 female	
43.		Animals (many kinds)	Transformation (en masse)
44.	Bamboo	Snakes	Transformation (en masse)
45.		2 snakes	Transformation
46.		1 male, 1 female	
47.	Smoke	1 male, 1 female	Dog (drinking)

9 The Pazeh Myths

Despite the lack of any official recognition from the Executive Yuan, richly documented Pazeh theogonic and anthropogonic oral literatures can be found. Five Pazeh creation texts and one Kaxabu text are included in this study. In Pazeh mythology the theogonic epoch and anthropogonic myth-time are inextricably linked with that of the global deluge. (See Figure 1) Though Ferrell asserts that the first Pazeh ancestors descended from the sky to reside in "the Taitung Plain, the traditional home of the Pazeh" (1969, p. 50), every other source contends that the Pazeh protoplasts descended from the sky to central Taiwan near Taichung.

Before chronicling all of the Pazeh origin myths that exist within the literary record, it is important to draw attention to the intro and outro lyrics that are traditionally sung in all Pazeh ritual songs. *Ayan nu ayan, ayan nu laita* (Let's sing ayan, the song of our origin) and *ayan nu ayan, saysay yawira* (This is the end of the song of ayan). All four of the ritual songs in Li and Tsuchida's *Pazih Texts and Songs*, begin and end with these lyrics. However, two of these songs do not cover any aspect of the Pazeh origin myths. Instead, they chronicle contemporaneous new year's celebrations and a great flag race.

It is said that the gods, called *Magyawas* (also transliterated as *Makiyawasu* (Liu, 2018, p. 24) and *Magiauwas* (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367)) fell from heaven to Guanyin Mountain (Pu, 2012, p. 40) in Taichung. Two Magyawas siblings named Vanakaisi and Savongakaisi married and their offspring are the Pazeh ancestors (Pu, 2012, p. 40).

However, according to the most complete Pazeh creation myth, Tia was a creator goddess who dispatched the Magyawas to the Earth. As Magyawas rode the clouds to the Earth, the old woman Tia chanted incantations and seeded the barren Earth with vegetation including bamboo which she used to sever the navel cord of a new-born baby (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373).

Another origin text names sisters Uba Pini and Ada Pini who said "We are going to become Pazih people, the Pazih in the East" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 177). The ritual text indicates that the sisters went to Saraumaw Mountain where they met a stag, implying but not expressly stating that, the protoplasts of the "Pazih in the East" are the descendants of a stag and these two wondering sisters (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 176–180).

9.1 *†The Kaxabu Myths*

Geographically separate from the Pazeh tribe and linguistically distinct from other Formosan languages (Lin, 2017), Kaxabu is considered a dialect of Pazeh. The following Kaxabu myth was published in Li and Tsuchida's Pazeh language monograph. According to the Kaxabu "Ritual Song for Ancestors – Our

Origin," the first Kaxabu was a man named Abuk who traveled from his home in the mountains to the seaside in search of other people. Finding an egg-laying sea turtle, he attempted to remove an egg from the turtle causing it to "shrink its vagina" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 206). After coming to his senses, he then left the beach and traced a river until he saw smoke which caused him to feel relieved (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 203–207). The presence of smoke implies that Abuk eventually discovered safety and comfort – whether it be in the form of fire or of other humans is not stated.

10 The Puyuma Myths

Fifteen Puyuma primary anthropogonic myths and two additional drift texts are included in this literary survey. While most sources assert that "the people of Katipol were born out of a stone, while those of Nanwang emerged from a bamboo" (Schroder, 1966, p. 268-270 & Cauquelin, 1991, p. 17), others have claimed inversely and erroneously that "descendants of the bamboo totem comprise the Katipol clan and descendants of the rock comprise the Puyuma clan" (Huteson, 2004, p. 8).

The stone origin texts lack uniformity regarding the location where the stone burst. Most texts indicate that the Katipol phratry's place of origin is Ruvuoahan (also spelled *Revoaqan* and *ruboan*) which is situated near Meiho Village in Taimali, Taitung (Hsu, 1956, p. 166 & Huteson, 2004, p. 8). Another Puyuma myth claims that the phratry is the descended from Unai and Tanval, a couple that burst forth from a stone at the foot of Dulan Mountain (Huteson, 2004, p. 8–9).

Other oral traditions provide details about the giant stone referred to as the crouching poraq stone at Ruvuoahan. One day, the story goes, the stone which had a neck and a head, foamed and the protoplasts Tinaqi and Pudek sprang forth from it (Quack, 1981, p. 38–40).

Originally published by Utsushikawa Nenozō 移川子之藏, Miyamoto Nobuhito 宮本延人, and Mabuchi Tōichi 馬淵東一 in *The Formosan Native Tribes: A Genealogical and Classificatory Study* 臺灣高砂族系統所屬の研究 (1935, p. 336), the genesis of man is alternatively said to have begun when the ocean bubbled along the Ruvoahan Coast (also the disembarkation point for the survivors of the deluge in the secondary anthropogonic myth-time). It is said that dust appeared from the bubbles and transformed into a stone. This stone split open and a monstrous humanoid emerged with eyes on its knees and faces on both sides. It had six eyes and it bore children from the calf on its right leg. These children, Sokasokau and Tavatav, married and the population of man increased (Pu, 2012, p. 36).

FIGURE 6 Sokasokau and Tavatav – the Puyuma protoplasts
Outdoor art display. Medium: fresco on carved concrete.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, AUGUST 30, 2022 AT CHIHPEN IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH, IN JHIBEN, TAITUNG

According to another Puyuma genesis/creation myth, in ancient times, mankind came out of a stone. The first ancestor's bones were stone and her flesh was earth; She became human. More beings were born and she brought children to the world: the sun and moon, monkeys, horses, deer, fish, and birds. The first ancestor also gave birth to the vaqerit bird as well as a regular bird. Then, the one who emerged from the stone married the monkey and a baby boy was born. When the boy grew up, his mother asked him to take food to his father but he didn't see anyone for two days. Instead, he only saw the monkey gnawing a sweet potato. He killed the monkey only to be informed by his mother that the monkey was his father. Then, the mother instructed her child to walk down the road to meet someone. She disguised herself and met her son on the road, making him believe she was someone else. She married her son and became pregnant (Quack, 1981, p. 95–97). This account of the origin of the Puyuma tribe proves that the same motifs found in Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* were also known to the ancient Formosans.

Several sources indicate that the bamboo-born protoplasts emerged from bamboo at Beinan which the god Pacomarai and goddess Paconsel had planted there (Del Re, 1951, p. 45 & Cauquelin, 2004, p. 29). However, divergent sources contend that "Panapanayan, in the ocean off of Meiho Village, is said to be the place of origin of the Puyuma" (Huteson, 2004, p. 8).

Finally, while one Puyuma myth states that the protoplast Sarolibaku was born from a cosmic sun egg that came to rest in a pot in the forest (Hsu, 1956,

p. 167), another text that purports that the first Puyuma chief was the offspring of a snake while commoners are descended from a dog (Hsu, 1956, p. 167).

11 The Rukai Myths

This study anthologizes 20 Rukai primary anthropogonic myths with motifs that include chthonic, tree, stone, lily, egg and ceramic vessel origins. The creation of man as accomplished through the spoken word in the myths of certain phratries is also examined. Both Capugan and Inulan oral literatures claim that the Rukai were created through the singing of the gods (Pu, 2012, p. 20–21). A similar narrative is preserved in the account of the goddess Mwakakay who sang and chanted incantations to transform betelnuts into the protoplasts (Li, 1975, p. 50–71). Another text from Haocha Village says that it was the goddess Peanut who caused the first ancestor to be born from a lily (Tien, 2022, p. 26).

Singing is such an integral aspect of traditional Rukai culture that it became the main impetus for headhunting, a traditionally most sacred religious practice. In the pursuit of sharpened singing skills, the myths state that the 'ila phratry chief decapitated a number of animals starting with birds and later, monkeys. Alas, as no marked improvement was observed in the people's singing, it was rightly reasoned that "It must be very interesting if we dance with a human head" (Pu, 2012, p. 214). So, the ancestors of the Rukai decapitated a human which caused an overwhelming sense of elation. This act and the subsequent dancing around the freshly severed head resulted in elation and enhanced singing. As a result, from that time on until the early 1900s, decapitation remained a prerequisite for singing and dancing. Traditional Rukai reasoned that, in the absence of a freshly severed human head, their singing was simply "not pleasurable" (Pu, 2012, p. 214). Improved singing as a primary function of headhunting also served as a traditional motivation for the Hla'alua, Kanakanavu and Tsou tribes prior to the early 1900s (Pu, 2012, p. 216–217).

An alternative Inulan narrative states that the protoplasts were born from a fork in the trunk of a giant tree (Pu, 2012, p. 20). Others say that the first man and woman came out of a giant tree at kitobatsu (Hsu, 1956, p. 165). Rukai elders tell of a theogonic era in which only the Gods lived on Earth. Prior to the existence of man, the sun and a pot got married and bore a female egg. This egg married a man who emerged from a stone. The daughter of the egg and stone-born man was named Valon. Valon married a hundred-pace snake and had two sons. The younger of the two sons, Canovak, became the chief and his parents, Valon and the snake, ascended to heaven (Hsu, 1956, p. 166).

According to the Calisian phratry, a divine hound imbibed water from a pond revealing two stones. Once exposed to the air, the stones fragmented and the protoplasts, one male and one female, emerged from the shards of stone (Pu, 2012, p. 21).

While the Labuan phratry agrees that man was created near a lake which they call Dalupalhing. Labuan oral texts offer a different perspective from the Calisian stone genesis theme. It is said that in the beginning "the world was in chaos. There was no life at all except two eggs of the sun in a ceramic vessel that was deep in a cave at Kaliaharn. Every day when the sun rose from the East, the very first place the sunlight touched was upon the two eggs" (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 62–69). Eventually, a male known as Gilagilau, and his sister Alayiumu, hatched from the eggs, married each other, and their children multiplied. Meanwhile, the Tamarakao Rukai (possibly an alternate spelling of *Taromak*) believe that the protoplasts emerged from a large stone at Mateyasan where "They learned a way of intercourse from a deity and became man and wife" (Ho, 1967, p. 240).

The Rukai myth of Homariri is reminiscent of the Ravar Paiwan pot-egg male and Earth-born female protoplasts (Pu, 2012, p. 24–25). Homariri was a male protoplast of stone birth origin while Sumurimu was a woman of chthonic origin. These primary ancestors of the Abalius phratry are said to have resided north of Lakes Tiadigul (also called Bayu) and Daloarina (Qiao, 2001, p. 46).

During a longitudinal study with the Mantauran Rukai, researchers recorded a unique origin myth that illustrates that multiple origin myths are believed, even by members of a single phratry. This has led some elders to weigh the veracity of the myths in an effort to discern which narrative is the most believable and correct. Following is an excerpt from an interview transcript from said study:

> I once asked my grandfather: "Where do we come from?" He replied to me: "We come from a hole obstructed by a grindstone." But when I discuss this matter with people from my generation, some say that we come from Vavangelae while others say that we come from Talingae. I do not know who is right, but when I come to think about it, I believe that what my grandfather said – that "we come out of a hole obstructed by a grindstone" – is right. (Zeitoun & Lin, 2003, p. 47)

However, among those phratries that venerate the ceramic vessel as the birthplace of the protoplasts, ceramic vessels have become symbolic of fertility and prosperity. A such, earthenware ceramic vessels became and remain an essential prerequisite dowry gift in Rukai weddings (Shieh, 2005, p. 101).

12 The Saisiyat Myths

The four Saisiyat anthropogonic myths found in the author's review of related literature state that mankind was created by a god or gods. Additionally, two drift origin texts are preserved in the Saisiyat literary record. During the early 1920s, Japanese researcher Sayama first chronicled the Saisiyat creation myth as a fragment that man was created by the god who lived in the *original land* (Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 296) which, according to most Saisiyat deluge myths was flat. In the following decade, Fujisaki Moshinosuke likewise reported on the Saisiyat belief in a creator god or gods (Tien, 2013, p. 60). Nearly 60 years later, it was observed again in 1996 that the Saisiyat believed that god created man and built the first villages (Tien, 2013, p. 60). The tradition of a creator god is reiterated by Tien's 21st century findings which state that the Saisiyat believe "the Almighty God created a group of people who lived together and lived and worked happily" (Tien, 2013, p. 59).

However, two other origin myths are also attributed to the Saisiyat. The first is the genesis myth of the male and female protoplasts who emerged from a stone holding bananas and betelnut on top of Mt. Papakwaka after the birds prayed to the god to release them for their confinement within a great stone (Pu, 2012, p. 31–32). In as much as birth from the stone is dependent upon the agency of the birds making supplications to the gods, the Saisiyat myth is a hybrid creation/genesis narrative theme. The remaining origin text is discussed below in the section on *Drift origin Themes*.

13 The Sakizaya Myths

The majority of Sakizaya myths have been merged with Nanshih Amis traditions due to the century of hiding which commenced after the 1878 Takobuwan (or Jialiwan) Incident. It wasn't until 2007 that the Sakizaya gained official recognition from the ROC's Executive Yuan as an aboriginal tribe and as such, an insufficient amount of documented mythology is attributed to Sakizaya tradition. Moreover, it has been asserted by Li Laiwang that the Sakizaya, like the Thao, were originally a pingpu tribe from western Taiwan that moved to eastern Taiwan to escape Koxinga (Rudolph, 2016, p. 431). The topic of Sakizaya origin is hotly debated between those who adhere to the western Taiwan origin and the Hualien origin (Rudolph, 2016, p. 432).

Eight Sakizaya origin texts including three which indicate a drift origin are incorporated into the present study. One creation account from the Nararacanan phratry states that the first ancestor was a god named

Arapanapanayan who resided in Taitung (Hansioux, 2014–2020). In a similar creation narrative, according to the Tafalong, the rain gods Macapidap (male) and Kusung (female) who lived in Arapanapanai had six children (Huang, 2009, p. 48–49) who became the ancestors of the tribe. Another myths adduces that the gods Madabila and Lisung were the first Sakizaya to live at Arapananai (Huang, 2009, p. 49).

Alternatively, within the Sakazaya compendium, there are two texts which ascribe to a creation/chthonic origin motif. One narrative says that in the ancient times the demigods Botoc and Sabak emerged from the Earth at Nararacanan and married each other. There was also another demigoddess named Kolmy who had a daughter named Sayan. Sayan married the son of Botoc and Sabak (Chen, 2010, p. 26–27).

Another creation/chthonic origin tradition claims that the Sakizaya protoplasts were created by god through the comingling of earth and sea salt. The ancestors lived by the sea where they made shell mounds which mark their place of origin (TCALLNNLN, 2019).

14 The Seediq Myths

Fourteen Seediq origin myths are included in the present study. Of these, all but two texts ascribe the origins of the Seediq ancestors to genesis. These include four texts pointing to a giant tree trunk origin, three texts to giant tree root origin, three describe chthonic origins while the remaining describe a stone genesis and a feces genesis.

The Renai Seediq creation text describes "a woman of unknown origin (who) married a pig and gave birth to a boy" (Liu, 2018, p. 13). This first woman later married her son and after that a dog. This myth is the basis for the belief that "Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku are the descendants of dogs and pigs" (Liu, 2018, p. 13). This sentiment is reinforced by the Pulan Seediq oral history of the man who emerged from pig feces. Seeing others who had emerged before him, he asked for help to wash off, but his request was rejected. Then he cursed them (Chang, 2012, p. 256). Having done so, the pig feces man re-entered the place of his genesis. A parallel narrative is recited among Atayal phratries. However, rather than pig feces, it is said that the ancestors emerged from a giant stone (Pu, 2012, p. 33).

The Kolo Seediq origin text, collected in 1921, indicates that "in ancient days a fly came out of nowhere and laid eggs. The eggs hatched, and two persons, a man and a woman came out of them. They are the ancestors of mankind" (Ho, 1967, p. 250 & Hsu, 1956, p. 156).

TABLE 7 Seediq origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1	Unknown	En masse	Transcendental conception, Pig ancestor, Dog ancestor
2	Fly eggs	1 male, 1 female	
3	World tree (root)	En masse	Strange creatures
4	World tree (root)	En masse	Strange creatures
5	World tree (root)	1 male, 1 female	
6	World tree	1 male, 1 female (gods)	
7	World tree	1 male, 1 female (gods)	
8	Tree (trunk)	1 male, 1 female	
9	Tree	1 male, 1 female	
10	Chthonic	2 males, 1 female	
11	Chthonic	1 male, 1 female	
12	Chthonic	1 male, 1 female	
13	Pig feces	2 males, 1 female	(Death Curse)
14	Stone genesis	1 male, 1 female	

Those texts that attest to the tree trunk origin say that "There came out of a tree one man and one woman and they resided at Gungu to farm. He begot many children from whom are descended all the people, who are many" (Asai, 1953 p. 79). Another source indicates that from the giant tree, the wood spirits transformed into gods and emerged from a split in the trunk. They married each other and the protoplasts were thus born (Chen, 2020, p. 340a & b; Pu, 2012, p. 34, & Hsu, 1956, p. 155).

According to the Seediq Tgdaya genesis myth, in the beginning, both suns were blotted out by a giant tree that cast the entire universe into darkness. In that darkness, the ancestors of all life came forth from the tree. And though they had four legs and were deformed with tumors, subsequent generations grew healthier, and eventually, mankind came into being (Pu, 2012, p. 33–34 & Liu, 2018, p. 15).

The remaining three Seediq narratives insist that the protoplasts came out of the giant tree root and then, their children multiplied (Asai, 1953, p. 50). It is said that the protoplasts were born from the roots of Pusu Qhuni (Tan, 2020). Others indicate that the first being to spring forth from the roots was a tiny man tree who had four legs and could not walk. The text claims that "later, real human beings were born from the root," presumably en masse (Pu, 2012, p. 35).

A remaining text refers to multiple beings emerging from the bottom of the tree including a furry monster, a second monster with a tree shaped tumor, a third being that was an immobile worm like being, a fourth creature that could fly, and eventually animals and humans (Liu, 2018, p. 15).

All of the tree and chthonic origin myths are set in a location on White Stone Mountain known as *Rmdax taxing*. The chthonic origin myths say that the first man and woman came out of a cliff that split in half at Pusu Ohuni (Chang, 2012, p. 177). The other myth asserts that the first two men and a woman were born from a cave at the base of the giant tree at Bnuhun (Sung, 2020).

The final text is a stone genesis tradition which says that the protoplasts were a male and a female who walked out of a split rock called Pusu Qhuni (Chang, 2012, p. 245).

15 The Siraya Myths

Siraya is considered an extinct language and the Siraya tribe is not officially recognized by the ROC's Executive Yuan. Most of what is known about the Siraya language is based on documents authored by VOC catechists in the 1600s. Documents such as the *Gospel of St. Mathew in Formosan* (*Sinkang dialect*) published in 1661, the catechism *Patar ki Tna-'msing-an ki Christang* published in 1662, and a collection of roughly 100 land contracts or grant deeds known as the Sinkang Manuscripts authored between 1683 and 1813 represent the majority of what modern linguists base their understanding of Siraya on (Macapili, 2008, p. XXXVII & p. 617–618).

Nevertheless, according to writings by Candidus in 1630, the Siraya of Taiwan's central western plain traditionally believed in a creator god named Tamagisanhach who was believed to reside in the south. In the Siraya anthropogonic myth, Tamagisanhach created man and was responsible for rain. This creator god was devoutly worshiped and sacrifices were offered to him in elaborate ceremonies which transpired in dedicated temples of worship (De Beauclair, 1975, p. 11–12). The subsequent colonization of western Taiwan by Chinese migrants during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries gradually led to a full linguistic Sinicization of the Siraya tribe and language. However, the beginning of the end for the Siraya language occurred in 1641 when the Dutch banished all of the Siraya priestesses from Mattouw, Soulang, Bacaluan, Sincan and Tavakang in 1641 to "have the desired effect on the missionary work" (Blusse & Everts, 2000, p. 276).

Unlike most of Taiwan's other Austronesian tribes, contemporary Siraya author Alak Akatuang notes that the beliefs and "the gods worship by the Siraya people during the Dutch occupation have changed so much in modern times" (Akatuang, 2013, p. 96).

16 The Truku Myths

Early drafts of this monograph discovered upwards of 13 origin texts which were misidentified in source publications as being from the Truku tribe. However, during later classificatory phases of research, it was discovered that some of the purportedly Truku texts were in fact Atayal or Seediq. Many texts belonging to Atayal, Seediq and Truku phratries are mislabeled as belonging to one of the other two within this group of three. This chronic mislabeling of texts by previous researchers is forgivable granted that it wasn't until 2004 for the Truku and 2008 for the Seediq that these tribes gained official recognition from Taiwan's ROC government. As such, these texts are often mislabeled by modern standards but were appropriately labeled at the times of publication. Nevertheless, this situation causes confusion for modern investigations.

Eight distinct anthropogonic myths are recited among various Truku phratries. Tree trunk, root and pig feces genesis origin myths as well as one drift origin myth are found within the Truku compendium.

However, for the majority of Truku, "pig's dung is mostly held to be the origin of their ancestor" (Kim, 1980, p. 148). One Truku genesis myth states that in the beginning two women and one snake emerged from lumps of pig feces under the Layatz tree on the mythical antediluvian sacred mountain called Degiyak Bulowan. The first woman hastily washed the feces off of her body causing her to perish immediately from the heat of the two suns that menaced the Earth during the advent of the Golden Age. The second woman petitioned the serpent to clean her which it did slowly and carefully. The serpent's gradual process allotted time for the woman's body to acclimate to the heat of the sun and she survived. This woman resided in the shade of the Layatz tree, and after marrying a dog that she met there, she gave birth to a strong hairy boy named Skum Awi. When he matured, Skum Awi married his mother and the population grew (Kim, 1980, p. 148–152).

A variant of the Truku genesis text attests that the protoplasts were born from a human spirit that emerged from the root of a giant tree on Poppo Mountain. "They lived together in a world with the ghosts and the gods of violent winds and thunder above the skies" (Pu, 2009, p. 134). Later the sister beguiled the brother by spreading a mixture of ground bark on her face from the giant tree which transferred onto the brother's face when they engaged in coitus and thus the practice of human procreation was discovered at the same time as the advent of facial tattooing. This narrative is also known amongst the Kubayan phratry who believe that the ancestors were born in Pinsabakan near the root of a great tree (Hsu, 1956, p. 155).

With regard to the sacred mountain of origin, Pu notes that "Tribal people avoid mentioning the holy mountain directly, so they call the half wooden and

TABLE 8 Truku origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1.	Stone	1 male, 1 female	Mother-son incest (face tattoo)
2.		1 male, 1 female	Flies teach sex
3.	Tree root	Human spirit transforms into 1 male, 1 female	Sibling incest (face tattoo)
4.		People (unclear)	
5.	Pig feces	1 woman	Dog ancestor, mother-son incest
6.		2 women, 1 snake	Layatz tree, dog ancestor, mother-son incest
7.		1 male	Women refuse to clean man
8.	Drift	1 female, 1 dog in boat	Dog ancestor

half rocky tree as *pusu qhuni* (tree root), *pusu btunux* (stone root), or white stone and holy stone (later times)" (Pu, 2012, p. 35). While this note is made in reference to Seediq practices, as has been noted previously, the Atayal, Seediq and Truku tribes closely share a number of cultural norms, including with regard to oral histories.

17 The Tsou Myths

"Oral tradition says that the Tsouic group originated in Yushan. About 2,000 years ago, the group split into two, Northern Tsou and Southern Tsou … The latter further split into two, Kanakanavu and Saaroa about 800 years ago" (Li, 2004, p. 1035). As cited above, it wasn't until 2014 that either the Kanakanavu or the Hla'alua, also known as Saaroa, were officially recognized as distinct tribes. Due to this historical lack of recognition, comparatively little literature has been written on either the Hla'alua or the Kanakanavu oral literatures. Further complicating the issue, most published Kanakanavu and Hla'alua texts have been published as Southern Tsou, a misnomer by current standards.

TABLE 9 Tsou origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1.	God transforms grass dolls into people	1 male, 1 female	
2.	Hamo plants seeds of men	People	
3.	Hamo plants seeds of men	People	
4.	Hamo shakes tree, leaves transform to men	En masse	
5.	God shakes tree, fruit and leaves transform to men	En masse	
6.	Nivnu creates man	2 people	
7.	Nivnu shakes tree, leaves transform to men	En masse	Journey to heaven, god as teacher
8.	Ninewu creates men	En masse	
9.	Uimunu creates men	1 man, 1 woman	God as teacher
10.	God made men	people	
11.	Leopard cat kitten transforms to person		Animal ancestor

Note: *It is unclear whether this text preserves a primary anthropogonic versus a secondary anthropogonic motif.

Ten Tsou creation texts were anthologized for the present study. Disparate Tsou phratries ascribe the creation of man to at least three distinct gods. The gods Hamo, Nivnu (Ninewu), and Uimunu are all accredited with the creation of man. Uimunu, the supreme goddess, is said to have created the Tsou protoplasts and taught them moral laws (Tsai, 1996, p. 70).

Another set of phratries ascribes to a chthonic origin myth. It is said that mankind sprang forth from the Earth after growing from seeds sown by Hamo. This myth is the background for why Tsou "people are sometimes called *tsamuh tsojoua*, 'those who grew from the soil'" (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173). Alternatively, some texts say that Hamo shook a maple tree causing its leaves to fall to the ground where they transformed into the ancestors of the Maya, Tsou and Chinese races en masse (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172). In another rendition of this creation myth, the first fruits that fell to the ground transformed into men. When the god shook the tree a second time, its falling leaves transformed into women (Pu, 2012, p. 35).

Oral histories regarding the creator gods called Ninewu suggest a similar but more complex narrative. In the Ninewu myths, there are two gods, a father and a son dyad who are both named Ninewu who resided in heaven with their wives. Ninewu the father first created men and then commanded Ninewu the

son to shake a tree and to create women from the leaves that fell. Ninewu the son descended to Earth and built homes for the leaf-born women and they lived separately from the already existing men until Ninewu encouraged them to procreate and taught them how to hunt and farm. Before returning to heaven Ninewu said: "My mission in the world was to create … Henceforth I cannot constantly descend to the world. I shall look down on your from heaven" (Tu, 1959, p. 537). Another account indicates that after Nivnu shook the Lauea tree and created mankind, Nivnu took the people to heaven for one day before escorting them back to Earth where he trained them on how to brew alcohol and build houses (Tung, 1964, p. 287).

Separately, at least one phratry maintains that the ancestral gods descended from heaven and occupied the grasslands where they wove two grass dolls that transformed into the protoplasts (Pu, 2012, p. 36).

18 The Yami/Tao Myths

The Yami/Tao tribe of Orchid Island (formerly known as *Botel Tobago*) boasts a rich corpus of secondary anthropogonic genesis and creation myths which can be challenging to distinguish from those of the primary anthropogonic mythtime. A text which is representative of this challenge is the *Legend of Imulud* chronicled by Asai (1936, p. 47). The Legend of Imulud begins with a nine-year long deluge after which a sky god sends humans to earth encased within stones and bamboo. As such, the Legend of Imulud exhibits both the stone and bamboo genesis motifs, albeit in the postdiluvian context. The complexity of categorizing the text is heavily compounded by the multiple inundation myths found in Tao mythology as well as the assortment of postdiluvian genesis myths in which additional non-primary ancestors were born from stones, bamboo, trees, and the sky.

Moreover, it is well documented that "the earliest people on our island were not real human beings" (Rau & Dong, 2006, p. 517). Indeed, when the protoplast "came from Ji-Peygahngen, from Iranmilek, he was a ghost. 'There were no human beings yet on this island,' people say" (Benedek, 1991, p. 226).

Origin myths are presented in fragments and attributed to the villages of Imurud, Iratai, Iwatas, Yayu, Iraralai, Iranumiruk and Ivarinu in *An Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines Vol. 1: The Yami* by Tadao Kano and Kokichi Segawa (1956). All of these traditions reference stone origins, bamboo origins and drift origins. However, no attempt is made to distinguish between primary and secondary anthropogonic mythologems.

Of the fifteen total Tao texts that are anthologized for the current investigation, five describe a drift origin, eight are primary anthropogonic texts and three are cosmogonic. The anthropogonic motifs include man's creation by gods, transformation of primordial ghosts into man and the bursting forth from a cosmic stone and bamboo.

After the creation of the universe, Shimo-rapao, one of the tau-roto, meaning *beings in the heights who reside above the firmament* (De Beauclair, 1959, p. 14) either descended in a golden sedan chair or simply cast a stone to the island from heaven which the protoplast emerged from (De Beauclair, 1971, p. 55). Another text says that heaven and Earth were connected by a golden ladder which the first human climbed down to become the first resident of the Earth (De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20).

One myth chronicles how the god Ibago created vegetation and caused it to grow. Then, Ibago ordered the wind to blow until the bamboo opened. A man and a woman emerged from the bamboo that Ibago had created and Ibago married them. Their offspring was boneless and blind so Ibago killed them all. Subsequently, Ibago caused a second pair of protoplasts to emerge from another bamboo. Their children were diseased but Ibago elected not to kill them. However, the grandchildren of the protoplasts disobeyed Ibago and ate the fruit of the kira tree so Ibago said "Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame." After that, people began to wear clothing (Del Re, 1951, p. 45–46).

The Iraralay origin myth chronicles how the Supreme Being in heaven placed one of his grandchildren, Si-Mokam, in a stone and cast him to Orchid Island (Benedek, 1991, p. 225–230). In another village, it is said that the Tao were created by a fish god and that after creating them, the fish god stayed behind to teach the protoplasts (Enn, 2015, p. 52).

Other Yami traditions support the motif of early generations being displeasing to god, resulting in the god's decision to destroy the people. And while this text culminates in the great deluge which is beyond the scope of the present study, it does confirm that "god had to step in" with regard to early generations:

> Before the great rising tide (the flood), it was a barbaric and chaotic age. The primitive people were ignorant and lacked morality and civilization. They were not real human beings. They were limited by the environment and could not overcome the plight. Finally, the god had to step in, and used a long and disastrous rising tide to flood and change the world. (Pu, 2012, p. 116)

Another Tao myth describes goddesses who descended to Orchid Island in a bamboo joint. These goddesses are accredited with creating mankind en masse by pouring fresh water over stones that they had incubated in their armpits (Hsu, 1956, p. 168). Despite the author's attempts to verify his suspicions with Tao people in Taitung that "armpits" is a euphemism for the location where babies are actually incubated within their mothers, this remains unclear.

While the distinction between primary and secondary anthropogonic origins is particularly obscure in the Yami context, the author has attempted to focus on the former herein.

TABLE 10 Yami origin motifs

Text	Origin type	New beings	Other motifs
1.	Ibago creates bamboo, sends wind, people spring out	1 male, 1 female	God kills first couple and kid, creates second couple
2.	Shimo-rapao sends people in stone		Cosmic stone Golden sedan chair
3.	God sends man in stone		Cosmic stone
4.	Man descends golden ladder from heaven		
5.	Two goddesses, stones in armpits and wash off	En masse	Cosmic stone
6.	Fish god creates man		God as teacher
7.	God creates islands		Cosmogonic
8.	God creates islands	Two gods	Chthonic, Abnormal birth
9.	God separates heaven and earth		Cosmogonic
10.	Cosmogonic		
11.	Strange beings drift to island		
12.	Strangers drift to island		
13.	Stone genesis, Drift in boxes		
14.	God creates man, man drifts to island		Transcendental conception

CHAPTER 3

Salient Origin Motifs

An abundance of motifs is embroidered into the tapestry of Formosan primary anthropogonic myths. As defined by Thompson, "motifs are the smallest element in a tale having a power to persist in tradition" (Thompson, 1946, p. 415). Within the fabric of these texts several anthropogonic (including creation and genesis), overseas drift, cosmogonic and theogonic motifs abound. The salient motifs of the primary anthropogonic myths, being the object of the present study, are collated and classified herein.

1 Cosmogonic Motifs

Primary cosmogonic myths chronologically precede the other mythologems, with the possible exception of theogonic myths in the myth-time. The cosmogonic myths refer to the origins of the universe (Martin, 2006, p. 30). However, with regard to Austronesian Taiwan, Ho notes that:

> The myths of the Formosan aborigines are characterized by an absence of stories about the creation of the universe … their cosmological myths often concern themselves with accidental and *supplementary* creation or readjustment of the primordial world order (and are restricted to) stories of the creation of the sun, moon, stars, sky, snow, rainbow, rivers, valleys, and mountains. (Ho, 1967, p. 33)

The majority of the Formosan creation of the sun, moon and stars mythic themes are embedded within the *Shooting the Sun* mythologem which is prolific among every tribe with the exclusion of the Kavalan tribe. As per the plurality of the Shooting the Sun myths, in the beginning of the world, there were multiple suns which made the original Earth an unbearable superheated environment. A hero or a group of heroes set out on a quest to alleviate the burden of this quandary by killing the superfluous suns, typically by shooting them with arrows. Injured, yet not mortally so, those suns which had been struck were transfigured into the moon and other celestial bodies. These geocentric myths generally indicate that, the primordial creation of the Earth preceded the creation of the moon or the stars. In one Seediq myth for example, it is said that "the place where the moon was shot at that ancient time, remains as the scar on the moon" (Asai,

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1953, p. 78). It is because of this background in mythic theme that the Formosan cosmogonic myths are generally more intertwined with the Shooting the Sun mythologem than with the anthropogonic mythologem.

These facts notwithstanding, and without disregard for the observation that the "Formosan tribes lack a detailed account of the creation of the world" (Ferrell, 1966, p. 172), eighteen texts, mostly fragments, from ten tribes exhibiting cosmogonic motifs are present within the Formosan primary anthropogonic texts. The findings of the present study evidence that Amis, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Pazeh, Puyuma, Rukai, Tao, Truku and Tsou origin myths address facets of the creation or shaping/terraforming of the Earth and the celestial bodies that make up the cosmos.

Amis oral tradition offers a manifest exception to the absence of cosmogonic or theogonic myths noted above by Ho (1967). Moreover, while the recitation of most Amis myths "may be told freely by anyone, the theogonic or cosmogonic myths can be recited only by trained male specialists, usually *sapalunau* (lineage priests, in modern times called 'chiefs'), who must observe strict taboos in connection with the recitation" (Ferrel, 1969, p. 54). One Vataan Amis text provides a detailed description about the first age of darkness, the creation of the sky, the sun, the moon, and all life. Moreover, the gods who were responsible for each act of creation are also identified by name.

> In the first time before there existed a heaven and Earth, and the cosmos was total darkness, the god Mareyap and the goddess Maswan appeared. They had a son, Arayan, and a daughter, Ma'aleno. Arayan transformed himself into the illuminating sky (karayan), which is like a vast mirror stretched above the Earth, shining upon the Earth and producing shadows or souls (aleno), which are then the concern of the goddess Ma'aleno. The third generation of gods were the sons and daughters of Arayan and Ma'aleno. They included Mea'sele, the goddess who became the sun (cidal), and her brother Avaneyau who became the moon (vodal); the goddess Done who created life and is sometimes referred to as Kawas no 'Orip (Deity of Life); and most important, the god Lopalanau, who made his reluctant brother and sisters assume their respective duties. (Ferrell, 1969, p. 54)

Additionally, though none of the origin texts found for the current study describe a deity called Ina, the ROC's Ministry of Culture reports that "The sun is called "Ina," which means "mother," and the Amis believe that it was Ina who created heaven and earth. Ina is the highest and most revered deity, and the female goddess Foongi is viewed as her embodiment" (MOC-Amis).

Likewise, a Bunun myth describes how the formerly barren Earth was filled with the breath of a giantess. After literally breathing life into the Earth which was made replete with life and vegetation, she reclined and transfigured into several mountain ranges thus creating the Earth as it is now.

> At the beginning of the world, a giantess was wandering alone on this land. She quietly sat there and looked into the distance for a long time. Her every sigh turned into thick white fog moisturizing the land. The land started to flourish and grow many giant trees, flowers, birds and other animals. Her body and two legs also started to transform. Her body transformed into the Jade Mountain Range (玉山山脈). Her two toes turned into two lower mountains which are Mount Guntai (郡大山) and Xiluanda Shan (西巒大山). Bunun believe their ancestors come from giantess's toes, and they are giantess's offspring. (Hung & Lin, 2021)

Another Bunun narrative that is set within the Golden Age and preserved by the Take-vatan phratry describes the origin of stars. In that text:

> Once there was a man … There came a woman along with her child … During her absence to fetch water, the child cried and he (the man) gave it a good scolding … Having found this, she (the mother) got very angry about his heartlessness. She went up to heaven with her child and the gourd, saying that she would become a star along with her child. (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88)

Like the first Bunun text, a Hla'alua cosmogonic myth also relies on the interventions of a giant. However, this Hla'alua myth regarding a giant goddess named Hipalalasa is a secondary cosmogonic myth that postdates the deluge within the myth-time. For that reason, it is noted, but intentionally omitted from the present disquisition.

A fragment preserved in a Kanakanavu origin text recalls that the first child ever born entered a stone to live within it. Later, when he stepped out of it:

> He found that the entire land was made of rocky abyss. There was no place where the tribe members could live. When he once stomped the ground with the millet pestle, half of the area became level while the rest remained rocky terrain. (Pache, 1964, p. 162)

The earliest Paiwan oral literatures indicate that the god father Kulelelele and his son Pulelelelengan created the Earth and everything in it through the

spoken word. The following text recalls the origins of the sea, plains, mountains, trees, grass, and all animal life.

> With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say. 'Well, son, we are lonely. Now we'll make the sea, the plains and the mountains … we'll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for food of all kinds.' Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say. Then 'Now we'll have pets, child; animals, birds, and things that swim in the sea.' (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430)

Other myths from the Tona Paiwan tribes tell of humanoid creatures that ascended into the sky and transformed into the sun (Riftin, 2023, p. 33).

Pazeh oral tradition comingles the cosmogonic and theogonic motifs into one narrative. The primordial goddess Tia who lived in the sky looked down on the Earth and saw that "it was all barren as if it had scabies" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 267). So, Tia dispatched "the old woman Magiauwas" (theogonic motif) to the Earth while at the same time Tia chanted incantations. Then Tia traveled to the four points of the compass where she planted bamboo and named the places. Meanwhile, Magiauwas gave birth to the protoplasts and "All (things) existed (on Earth) under the sky. There were all sorts of trees and grass" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 372).

In one Rukai tradition of Mwakakay, it is said that "Mwakakay recited the incantations to make good the roads and flattened the bad places, the river, the rocks, the roads, the steep mountains; the roads were so well constructed as if flies would slip on them" (Li, 1975, p. 570). Mwakakay's power was so great that, purely through the spoken word, she instantly created entire villages filled with servants, both human and animal, who loved and obeyed her. While Mwakakay's reach in this text is limited to the Earth, it nevertheless constitutes the origins of the Earth in its present configuration. Some myths found in deluge and postdiluvian traditions such as the Kongadavane myth state that the rivers were formed by a snake (Chaing, 2014, p. 106). Other Rukai traditions that are chronicled by Hsu (1956, p. 165) and Eisenberg (2019, p. 96) illustrate how the Earth was separated from the sky by a giant goddess.

The Tao tribe of Orchid Island has an exceptionally well-developed concept of the cosmos. The milky way was formed by fish who jumped out of the sea and stuck to the sky. The stars are known as *mata-no-angit* meaning "eyes of the firmament" (De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20). As for the creation of their island, according to the oral literature a "god came from the south and created Little Orchid Island (*Jiteywan*) and Orchid Island (*Pongso no Tao*) then returned

FIGURE 7 Rukai two-headed hundred-pace snake bridge. According to Kongadavane oral history, the rivers were formed by a snake. This hundred-pace snake bridge commemorates this origin myth and pays homage to this sacred Rukai totem. Public art display. Medium: concrete.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, MARCH 15, 2022, NEAR IRIRLA – TAROMAK, A RUKAI VILLAGE LOCALITY IN TAITUNG

to the south" (Hsu, 1956, p. 169). Another cosmogonic fragment from Orchid Island states that "In the ancient times, Heaven and Earth were one and the same, until a giant separated them and that was how the sky and the land came into being" (Benedek, 1991, p. 34).

Arnaud's Tao origin text describes the origins of the Earth, the celestial bodies, and Earth's various atmospheric phenomena:

> Our island rolls just like a ball, the plains haven't been created yet … The sun appears then comes the moon. The twinkling stars come along then … The lightnings and roar of thunder … Both give birth to the fall of the rain. The rainbow climbs high in the sky … And then the islands are divided and the sea starts undulating. – Tao tradition of Orchid Island. (Arnaud, 2013, 0:00:56)

Illustrations published in 1951 (p. 54-56) by Del Re depict the Tao concept of the cosmos as being comprised of eight distinct strata. Each elliptic stratum or plane is the realm of a distinct set of entities starting at the bottom in Plane 8 with the foundation of the cosmos, filled by the bases of five cosmic trees. Plane 7 represents the chthonic underworld, a location where humans sojourn in numerous myths. Plane 6 is the home of the *Yami-Anito* or the souls of the ancestors. Plane 5 is the domain of man. Planes 3 and 4 provide the dwellings of different classes of Anito gods including malevolent dispatchers of plagues. Finally, Plane 2 is the residence of Sio-Mima, the god of the non-Tao world and other countries while Plane 1 is the dominion of Shimo-Rapao, the supreme creator. Further reading is available in Del Re's (1951) *Creation Myths*

of the Formosan Natives and Benedek's (1991) *The Songs of the Ancestors*. For a comprehensive corpus of Formosan myths concerning the secondary origins of celestial bodies, the Earth, the sea, fire, flora and fauna within the context of the deluge and immediately postdiluvian myth-time, see *Chapter v Origins of the Natural World* in Gauss (2022).

During a field study with Truku people at Xiulin (秀林鄉) in Hualien, B. Riftin was told the following myth concerning the origin of the multiple suns.

> Long ago there was no sun, and people in everyday life received light from burning brushwood. One day, when two Truku elders went out for a walk with some brushwood, the wind carried them away and into the sky. These elders turned into suns. (Riftin, 2023, p. 19).

Furthermore, regarding the origins of the other luminaries, it was also stated that after the shooting of the sun:

> …with a 'pak' sound, a clot of the sun's blood turned into the moon, small pieces of blood flew up and turned into the stars, and some fell to the ground and became stones, therefore the moon, stars and stones on the ground are the blood of the sun. (Riftin, 2023, p. 32)

According to one Tsou account of the creator:

> God came to the Jade Mountain intent on creating a better world. He strode in steps among the mountains to create residence for humanity. He stamped on the land and flattened the west plains. Wherever He went, dormant life was awakened and living creatures were born. The summit of Tashan, Tfuya, Hosa, and Lalauya were places God chose for the Tsou people. After all preparations were done, God created men. These men were the ancestors of Tsou. They lived in the chosen land and thrived with the blessings of God from generation to generation. (National Palace Museum, 2019)

According to the remaining Puyuma cosmogonic myth, after the Puyuma mythic protoplast came forth from a stone and transformed her stone bones and Earthly flesh into a living breathing woman, she gave birth to the sun, moon, animals and eventually mankind through a sexual union between herself and a monkey which she had also given birth to (Quack, 1981, p. 95–96). This is a classic example of mother-son incest within the primary origins mythologem.

Further facts concerning the nature of the first or antediluvian Earth can be gleaned from Golden Age and deluge texts. For example, a number of Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Seediq, Truku, Kanakanavu, and Saisiyat deluge texts explicitly state that the antediluvian Earth was flat or smooth with the exception of a solitary sacred or cosmic mountain and that modern topography was created by the flood or shortly thereafter (Gauss, 2022, p. 214).

TABLE 11 Primary Formosan cosmogonic motifs

Tribe	Source	Details
Amis	Chang, 2012, p. 243	Gods transform into sky, Sun, moon; Gods create man, mountains, animals, plants
	Ferrell, 1969, p. 54	God transforms into sky, Sun, moon; God creates life and order
Bunun	Hung & Lin, 2021	Giant creates fog, plants, animals; Giant transforms into mountains and people
Kanakanavu	Pache, 1964, p. 162	God uses pestle to flatten ground
Paiwan	Lai, 2010, p. 24	God creates world, animals and people
	Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430	Gods creates sea, land, mountains, plants, animals, people
	Pu, 2012, p. 285	Gods assumes roles of sky, sea, ancestor
	Riftin, 2023, p. 33	Humanoid creatures transform into Sun
Pazeh	Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373	God creates everything on earth and plants
Puyuma	Quack, 1981, p. 95–97	Goddess creates Sun, moon, animals, people
Rukai	Hsu, 1956, p. 165	Goddess raises the sky with a stone
	Eisenberg, 2019, p. 96	Goddess raises the sky with a handle

TABLE 11 Primary Formosan cosmogonic motifs (*cont.*)

Tribe	Source	Details
	Li, 1975, p. 50–71	Goddess terraforms the Earth and makes rivers
Tao/Yami	Hsu, 1956, p. 169	God creates both Orchid islands
	Benedek, 1991, p. 34	Giant separates Earth from the sky
	Arnaud, 2013	Order of creation: Sun, moon, stars, lightning, rain, rainbow, islands separated from the sea
	De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20	A fish creates the milky way
Truku	Riftin, 2023, p. 19	Elders transform into suns
Tsou	National Palace Museum, 2019	God terraforms Earth. Footsteps are plains God creates animals & people

Minimally, three separate cosmogonic ages are chronicled in Formosan mythology. The first cosmogonic age is said to have transpired prior to the origins of mankind. Secondary cosmogonic events were a direct result of the shooting of the sun. Finally, in cosmic inundation type deluge myths, a third cosmogonic age is recorded. Raising the Sky myths may be considered a fourth cosmogonic age among tribes with corresponding oral traditions.

2 Theogonic Motifs

"*Theogony* refers to the origin or descent of the gods" (Martin, 2006, p. 30). The arrivals of numerous deities on Earth are referenced throughout the Formosan Golden Age texts. Moreover, in *Total Inundation* and *Cosmic Inundation* deluge traditions that chronicle the utter envelopment of the Earth in water and death of all mankind, secondary theogonic texts are found. For further details concerning *God Survivors* of the deluge, see Gauss (2022, p. 137). Within the primary anthropogonic myths, the origins and identities of the first gods and the creator gods are recorded in a minority of texts. Nevertheless, Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Pazeh, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq,

Tao and Tsou myths all chronicle the descent of creator gods and, with few exceptions, asseverate that they originated in the sky before falling to a sacred or cosmic mountain upon which they created man.

The convention of referring to the locale of a god's habitation on Earth as *sacred* or even *heavenly* is emulated in several Formosan texts. In one Amis text, the location where the deities Sera and Nakaw are said to have resided is known as *Tawrayan,* meaning "the place of god" (Pu, 2012, p. 38 & 101–102). In an Atayal myth, the place where the gods descended to Earth "naturally formed the Grand Palace. The gods named this place ancestors' place" (Pu, 2012, p. 197). Likewise, one Rukai texts refers to the place where the goddess Rukuraw descended as *Takaraws* meaning "the heaven on Dawu Mountain" (Hsu, 1956, p. 165). This custom was previously observed by Mabuchi who remarked that *Dawu Mountain* is considered synonymous with *heaven* according to Paiwan informants who reported that Dawu Mountain is "where the deities and ancestral spirits are believed to dwell" (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 86).

The names of the numerous Amis deities and the loci where they took up residence as they are recorded in primary anthropogonic myths are noted in Table 1. Among the Amis gods, Abokurayan (Pu, 2012, p. 38 & Chien, 1994, p. 91) is the only Amis creator whose origin is said to be the *sea* rather than the *sky.*

Within the Atayal narratives, the preponderance of deities is said to have descended from the sky to mountain tops where they congregated. It is said that "In the past there was a god and two goddesses who descended to the highest stone in the country" (Hsu, 1956, p. 156). However, one such divine couple is memorialized as originating inside a giant tree, a motif which is further explored in *Tree Genesis* below. Likewise, the sole Bunun tradition (Hsu, 1956, p. 159) chronicling the origin of the gods indicates that they descended in concert, as an assembly, from the sky and assumed residency at Ramogan.

There are two theogonic narratives within the Kanakanavu tradition. Both oral histories indicate that while some gods remained in the sky, the creator gods resided upon the Earth prior to the creation of man. The myth of Parumaci and Niun begins by explaining that the gods lived and worked on Earth (CIP-Kanakanavu). The other text supports a stone origin motif and indicates that Earth-born gods openly engaged in communication with other, more powerful deities, who remained in the place of their origin, the sky above.

> A female deity was born from a rock. Because there was nothing to eat, she asked the heavenly deity for some food. The heavenly deity gave her fish, animals, and rice … She met a male deity eating sand of the river bed, and she married him. (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88)

Theogonic Paiwan texts describe the deity called Kada'o (also spelled *Kadao, Ada'o,* or *qadaw* meaning sun (Ferrell, 1982, p. 481)) who descended to Earth for the expressed purpose of creating mankind. One text claims that "Ada'o fell from the sky and laid two sun eggs at suchiruan na ada'o (Land of the Sun Egg)" (Hsu, 1956, p. 162). A Ravar text states that "Kadao descended from the sky and laid three eggs in a pool" (Hsu, 1956, p. 161). Finally, a Butsul text simply records that "Kada'o descended to lay eggs" (Hsu, 1956, p. 162). Theogonic motifs within the Shimen texts also make mention of the sun god. One Shimen myth states that "the sun laid two eggs at Jiling (tjimu)" while another myth claims that the demigod "children of the sun were born at Dawu Mountain (avulungan) under a four-meter-tall square milky white stone (vucelacelai a tjagulj)" (Shihzih, 2018).

Two other Paiwan theogonic motifs are preserved in other primary anthropogonic myths. One of these perpetuates the Dawu Mountain origin for the ancestor Satakaraws (Hsu, 1956, p. 164), while the remaining speaks of a goddess who appeared first in Taimali just north of Dawu Mountain (Fong, 2021, p. 27).

One of the most richly detailed examples of theogony is preserved in Pazeh tradition. When the primordial goddess Tia dispatched the goddess Magiauwas to Earth, Magiauwas came "down through the space of the sky by riding the clouds. Then she descended to the Earth" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373). Here, the myth hearer can visualize the physical descent of Magiauwas through the graphic imagery of the text. Other Pazeh texts support the same narrative saying that "The earliest ancestor named Magyawas came to the world from heaven and Pazeh people's ancestors came from heaven and came down to the spirit land. It is present Guanying Mountain, two kilometers east of Fengyuen City (in Taichung)" (Pu, 2012, p. 40).

While the plurality of the Saisiyat myths concur, that man is the intentional product of divine design, scant details are provided regarding the identities or origins of said gods. Rather, in general, the Sakizaya texts describe a male-female couple of rain gods who descended to Arapanapanai Mountain to the south of Malan (Huang, 2009, p. 48–49).

Originally published in Japanese in 1917, one Seediq text recalls that "There was a huge tree at a place named Bunohou along (the) Central Mountain Range. Half of the tree was wooden and the other half was rock. One day, a male god and a female god walked from the tree" (Pu, 2012, p. 34). This account names the location where the gods first appeared.

A variety of gods are identified within the Tsou creation texts. The gods Hamo, Nivnu, Ninewu and Uimunu are all mentioned. However, their descents or locations of origin are unfortunately not always preserved. Limited examples

explicitly chronicle the origins of the gods saying only that "In the past, the god of our ancestors came down from heaven and lived on the grasslands" (Pu, 2012, p. 36). It is also said among other phratries that "the god came down to Jade Mountain" (Pu, 2012, p. 35). Nevertheless, the habitation of the god Ninewu is noted: "Ninewu lived mostly in heaven, but occasionally he came down to the Earth" (Tu, 1959, p. 537).

In parallel with the Tao texts concerning Shimo-rapao, theogonic motifs are exemplified in narratives about the god Ibago within Tao mythology. Ibago visited Orchid Island from his domain in the sky in order to create mankind and to teach the protoplasts. The first couple that he created lived in heaven where they had children who, after growing up, descended upon the Earth to visit their cousins. "The girl, who was exceedingly beautiful, obtained permission from Ibago to descend upon the earth in order to visit her cousins" (Del Re, 1951, p. 45–47).

Details vary among texts adhering to the sky origin motif. Some texts claim that the gods descended from the sun or different areas within the sky. Other theogonic traditions provide detailed genealogies of deities including descriptions about the birth of celestial bodies such as the sun and the moon which are also venerated as gods. Genealogies of the gods are chronicled and it is noted that each successive generation of gods became significantly weaker than its progenitors. Successive generations of gods lacked the powers that their parents wielded. The abilities to create life, freely ascend or descend from the sky to the Earth, and employ various forms of technology degenerated until they were no longer possessed by the offspring of the gods. This finding is also echoed in the deluge texts which argue that the procreator gods, in some cases, abandoned their flightless offspring, the demigods, on Earth to the waters of the deluge (Gauss, 2022, p. 138).

TABLE 12 Theogonic origins and destinations

		Voyage		
	Deity	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Source**
Amis	Abokurayan	Sea	Orchid Island	Pu, 2012, p. 38; Chien, 1994, p. 91
	Family of 4	Sky	Orchid Island & Takilis	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 91

TABLE 12 Theogonic origins and destinations (*cont.*)

		Voyage		
	Deity	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Source**
Amis	Sera & Nakaw		Tawrayan (place of god)	Pu, 2012, p. 38; Pu, 2012, p. 101–102
	Sun & Moon	Sky	Cilangasan	Pu, 2012, p. 39
	Keseng Madapidap		Panapanayan	Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 295; Pu, 2012, p. 100–101
	Cihcih & Di'sil	Cosmos	The world	Pu, 2012 p. 38
	Many gods	Cosmogonic myth		Ferrell, 1969, p. 54
	Kakumodan Sappatorroku Budaihabu	Sky	Taurayan	Frazer, 2013, p. 106; Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101
	Buton & Kumi	Sky	Earth	Hsu, 1956, p. 167
Atayal	Goddess & Son		Big Snow Mtn.	Rau, 1992, p. 242
	Three gods	Sky	A hilltop	Pu, 2012, p. 197; Hsu, 1956, p. 156
Bunun	Five gods	Sky	Ramogan	Riftin, 2001, p. 196; Hsu, 1956, p. 159
Kanakanavu	Parumaci			CIP-Kanakanavu
	Goddess	Stone		Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88
Paiwan	Satakaraws	Mt. Dawu	The plain	Hsu, 1956, p. 164
	Goddess		Taimali	Fong, 2021, p. 27

TABLE 12 Theogonic origins and destinations (*cont.*)

		Voyage		
	Deity	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Source**
Paiwan		Sun	Dawu Mtn.	Shihzih, 2018
	Kadao	Sky	A pool	Hsu, 1956, p. 161
	Ada'o	Sky	Suchiruan na ada'o (Land of the Sun Egg)	Hsu, 1956, p. 162
	Kada'o			Hsu, 1956, p. 161–162
	Sun	Sky	Kadziaka	Pu, 2012, p. 26
	5 demigods		Mt. Kavurungan	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 87
	Boaboran & Giarumjuru	Sun eggs	Mt. Chokaborogan	Ho, 1967, p. 249–250
	7 gods	Mt. Dawu	Sky	Pu, 2012, p. 285
Pazeh			Mt. Guanying	Pu, 2012, p. 40
	Magyawas	Sky		Pu, 2012, p. 40
		Sky	Taitung	Ferrell, 1969, p. 50
	Makiyawasu	Sky	Central Taiwan	Liu, 2018, p. 24
	Magiauwas	Sky		Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373
Puyuma	Pacomarai Paconsel	Bamboo		Del Re, 1951, p. 45
Rukai	Rukuraw	tavatavan	Dawu Mtn.	Hsu, 1956, p. 165

TABLE 12 Theogonic origins and destinations (*cont.*)

		Voyage		
	Deity	**Origin**	**Destination**	**Source**
Sakizaya	Macapidap Kusung		Arapanapanai	Huang, 2009, p. 48
	Madabila Lisung		Arapananai	Hung, 2009, p. 49
Seediq		Tree		Pu, 2012, p. 34
	Unnamed couple	Giant tree at Bunohon		Hsu, 1956, p. 155; Chen, 2020, p. 340a
Siraya	Tamagisanhach	Southward		De Beauclair, 1975, p. 11
Tsou	Hamo	Sky	Tfuya Grasslands	Pu, 2012, p. 35 & 36; Ferrell, 1966, p. 172--173
	God		Mt. Jade	National Palace Museum, 2019
	Ninewu	Stay in heaven		Tu, 1959, p. 537
Yami/Tao	Ibago		Orchid Island	Del Re, 1951, p. 45
		South	Orchid Island	Hsu, 1956, p. 169
	2 Goddesses	Bamboo	di-paon	Hsu, 1956, p. 168
	Shimo-rapao	Firmament		De Beauclair, 1959, p. 14

Note: "Destinations" are listed as they are identified within texts and may or may not represent so called "final" loci of destination or habitation. Texts which provide neither a place of origin nor an Earthly destination are omitted from this table (i.e. texts of the sort that say "In ancient times, people were created by god").

3 Creation Motifs

As the current study is restricted to the primary anthropogonic myths, those secondary cosmogonic myths that Ho (1967) characterizes as *supplementary* creation myths are intentionally omitted herein. Excluding the Bunun, Hla'alua, Kanakanavu and Seediq myths, a selection of deluge texts from all of Taiwan's officially recognized tribes describe postdiluvian secondary anthropogonic origins (Gauss, 2022, p. 235). Many deluge texts describe disembarkation points where the survivors of the deluge disembarked from the vessels and objects that they employed to survive the floodwaters. Disembarkation narratives are wholly distinct from and must not be conflated with primary anthropogonic myths and are therefore intentionally excluded from the present analysis. The Formosan deluge texts also elaborate on the secondary anthropogonic origins of man from twelve sources including (1) *Rock Origin,* (2) *Bamboo Joint Origin,* (3) *Gourd Origin* (by floating), (4) *Egg Origin,* (5) *Dog-Ancestor Origin*, (6) *New Race Arises from Incest,* (7) *Stick Origin,* (8) *Corpse Origin*, (9) *Pot Origin*, (10) *Tree Origin*, (11) *Cave Origin* and (12) *Sky Origin* (Gauss, 2022, p. 236).

It has previously been claimed that "Tsou oral tradition is unusual in Taiwan in ascribing Man's origin to a deliberate act of creation, rather than by spontaneous emergence from stone or bamboo, or being the offspring of mythical ancestor-deities who came from the sky or a distant land" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 37). However, one of the key findings of the present study is the indication that, within the scope of the primary anthropogonic myths, man's origin as a deliberate act of creation by the gods is widespread across Taiwan's tribal mythologies. Moreover, comparatively few texts describe the emergence of the protoplasts as "spontaneous."

Some sources indicate only that man was created by the gods without providing detail as per the methods used. For example, Favorlang sources simply chronicle that the creator god Haibos created man (Campbell, 1896, p. 24) without further discussion. Likewise, one Saisiyat text claims that "In the ancient times, *human beings created by the god* lived in the original land." (Pu, 2012, p. 71). Another example comes from the Tsou tribe and states simply that "The supreme goddess uimunu made the first man and woman" (Tsai, 1996, p. 70). Nevertheless, many of the Formosan primary anthropogonic texts provide relevant details concerning the intentional creation of man by the gods.

The Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Favorlang, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazeh, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Siraya, Tao and Tsou tribes all have myths concerning the overtly deliberate creation of man by deities. These texts exhibit considerable variety of motif regarding the methodology employed by the gods in the creation of man including methods rooted in

(1) *singing/speaking,* (2) *transformation of god-human hybrids,* (3) *offspring of the gods,* (4) *god-human hybrids,* (5) *transcendental conception,* (6) *the sons of god,* (7) *human-animal hybrids* (*chimeras*), (8) *animal ancestor* and (9) *intermediary animals as creation catalysts*.

3.1 *Singing and Speaking*

According to some Paiwan, Pazeh and Rukai texts, the gods created the protoplasts through the power of the spoken word. Taromak Rukai myths anent a female demigoddess named Mwakakay, and illustrate how she chanted incantations and sang to create the protoplasts.

Illtreated by her mother, Mwakakay fled to the mountains with a companion where she created an entire village including houses, water, clothing, food, men and women. Mwakakay created the village through the power of speech by reciting incantations, singing, and commanding "May there be all sorts of clothes … May there be all sorts of food" (Li, 1975, p. 56–57). Each house was of superior construction and the walls were so smooth that "it looked as if a fly would slip on it" (Li, 1975, p. 56), an idiomatic expression found in Rukai and Paiwan texts to illustrate the concept of *perfection* in building form.

A Capungan Rukai phratry states simply that "The male and female ancestral gods, Muakai and Sakinu, appeared in the clan in the ancient times. They created human beings by singing and became the ancestors of the Rukai people" (Pu, 2012, p. 20).

Singing as a method of creation is also found in Paiwan oral traditions. The Kulaljuc Paiwan say that "In the ancient times, a child was born from a stone in the old clan. After he grew up, he created human beings by singing." (Pu, 2012, p. 23). Other texts say that both man and millet were created by the singing of the gods which resembled the sounds of cicada chirping (Pu, 2012, p. 165). The Paiwan myth of the god Kulelelele and his child Pulelelelengan says that they created man by simply speaking aloud the name of the creature or thing they wished to create and then "they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was; there was not a thing missing" (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430). In another Paiwan narrative, the first generation of children matured into adults suddenly through the use of chanted spells and magic:

> Then they said, "Grow up!" and the child could sit. Again, they said, "Grow up!" and the child could walk. Then they chanted spells again and said, "Grow up!" and the child became a boy. For a whole year, the woman was pregnant again and gave birth to a child. This time it was a girl. Also with this child they used their magic again. (Egli, 1989, p. 27–28).

TABLE 13 The creation of man through the spoken word

Tribe	Details	Source
Paiwan	Singing	Pu, 2012, p. 165; Pu, 2012, p. 23 & 24
	Speaking	Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430
Pazeh	Incantations	Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373
Rukai	Singing & Incantations	Pu, 2012, p. 20 & 21; Li, 1975, p. 56–59

In Pazeh tradition, the primordial goddess Tia created the Earth and everything in it through the wielding of incantations. "The old lady Tia chanted incantations. All (things) existed (on Earth) under the sky. There were all sorts of trees and grass" (Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373).

3.2 *Transformation*

Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Rukai and Tsou myths rely on the motif of transformation from a non-human object into a protoplast to explain the origin of man in the primary anthropogonic context. Though transformation, typically from animals to humans, is a common motif throughout Formosan Golden Age and secondary anthropogonic myths, the current study is limited in scope to those recorded in the primary anthropogonic narratives. Therefore, numerous secondary anthropogonic transformation myths are intentionally omitted from the current survey.

The Amis hold beliefs that the protoplasts emerged from cosmic vessels which were placed on the Earth by a mysterious being. "The Amias believe that in the beginning a being planted a staff, which as it grew became a bamboo; from the bamboo sprouted two shoots, which in due time developed into two beings male and female" (Taylor, 1886, p. 79). According to this text, transformation occurred when a staff *became* bamboo and sprouted shoots which *developed into* two beings.

The Wantai Atayal record says that after a wading murder of crows was swept away by the current, the ts'I'p'itsi'ip'I birds were left alone wading in the water. The ts'I'p'itsi'ip'I birds gradually transformed into the protoplasts, got married and had children (Hsu, 1956, p. 156).

Various Bunun origin myths likewise involve the transformation of creatures and objects. These creatures include crickets, worms, boneless vermicular beings, bee larva and bizarre winged insects that emerged from the sunset. One Bunun myth indicates that "At the beginning of the world, a giantess was

wandering alone on this land … Her body and two legs also started to transform … Bunun believe their ancestors come from giantess's toes, and they are giantess's offspring" (Hung & Lin, 2021).

The Rukai myth of Mwakakay chronicles how, with the casting of incantations, limed betelnuts were transformed into humans. "She put limed betelnuts on her bed to make young ladies. She put some at the central pillar to make four men. Then she slept … Mwakakay was singing as she got up" (Li, 1975, p. 59).

As in the Bunun compendium, the motif of the corpse of a giant transforming into man is also found in a Taravasadji Rukai myth:

> The goddess Rukuraw descended on the land at tavatavan from the heaven on Dawu Mountain (takaraws). At that time the sky was low and the sun was strong so the goddess pushed the sky up with a stone. Later the goddess married a man named Rawpurun whose penis was so large that the goddess couldn't stand it. So, she killed him. The man's fingers transformed into commoners, the limbs transformed into the chief's family and the chest transformed into the chief. This is the origin of the ancestors. (Hsu, 1956, p. 165)

Likewise, the Kanakanavu and Tsou myths propound that the gods transformed various sorts of vegetation, specifically, fallen leaves and fruit into man. "The god shook the tree. The fruits fell down to the ground and turned into men. The god shook the tree again. The leaves fell down to the ground and turned into women" (Pu, 2012, p. 35). Additionally, some Tsou myths claim that the gods transformed grass dolls into man saying, "the god … made two dolls with twitch grass and turned them into a man and a woman" (Pu, 2012, p. 36) while another claims that god grew man from seeds planted by the gods in the Earth. "The great god Hamo came down to Earth and planted men. What he planted grew from the Earth into the ancestors" (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173). Of note, one Tfuea myth describes how a leopard cat kitten transformed into a person (Hsu, 1956, p. 161). However, it is not possible to certify this text as a primary rather than secondary anthropogonic myth as it may describe events which occurred later, in the Golden Age.

Within the motif of transformation, the Bunun and Paiwan compendia are composed, in part, of myths concerning creatures that transformed into the protoplasts. However, while the Bunun and Paiwan texts are unclear that the change was the result of deliberate acts by any higher being, these texts are considered here as they are relevant to the motif of man as a product of transformation. In Paiwan myths, the first beings were born as serpents, monkeys

FIGURE 8 Rawpurun wood carving
This wood carving of Rawpurun with his characteristic and extremely long penis was recently displayed in the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung. He is venerated as the first ancestor as it was his corpse that transformed into the ancestors of the Taravasadji Rukai. Medium: wood.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, FEBRUARY 7, 2024, AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF PREHISTORY IN TAITUNG

and badgers that later transformed into men. Laiyi, Butsul, Youbei, Chaoboobol Atsudas, and other Paiwan phratries tell myths about reptilian ancestors who transformed from snakes into the ancestors. In the Youbei tradition, those ancestors whose progenitor was a hundred-pace snake are members of the royal caste while those whose progenitor was another snake (not a hundred-pacer) are commoners (Hsu, 1956, p. 162).

According to Seediq myths, all animal life including mankind shares a common ancestor. It is said that in the beginning two types of animals were born from beneath the cosmic tree. The furry one had four long limbs. The other creature looked like a tree, its feet were like roots, and it had tumors, but it could crawl (Pu, 2012, p. 33–34 & Liu, 2018, p. 15). The furry creature is said to have transformed into the protoplasts.

TABLE 14 Man as a product of transformation

Tribe	Details	Source
Amis	God transforms bamboo into man	Taylor, 1886, p. 79
Atayal	[a,b]Birds transform into man	Hsu, 1956, p. 156
Bunun	[b]Cricket transforms into man	Riftin, 2001, p. 196
	[a]Sky worm transforms into man	Tsai, 1996, p. 67–68; Riftin, 2001, p. 196; Ou, 2017, p. 25
	[b]Boneless being transforms into man	Pu, 2012, p. 30
	[a,b]Winged insect transforms into man	Ou, 2017, p. 25
	[a,b]Bee larva transforms into man	Fang, 2016, p. 124
	Giantess toes transform into man	Hung & Lin, 2021
	[b]Taro worm transforms into man	Hsu, 1956, p. 159
	Potato beetle transforms into man	Pache, 1964, p. 133
Kanakanavu	God transforms leaves into men	CIP-Kanakanavu

TABLE 14 Man as a product of transformation (*cont.*)

Tribe	Details	Source
Paiwan	[b]Snakes transform into man	Pu, 2012, p. 26; Hsu, 1956, p. 163 & p. 164; Lai, 2010, p. 25
	[b]Monkeys and badgers transform into man	Egli, 1989, p. 30–31
Rukai	Demigoddess transforms Betelnut into man	Li, 1975, p. 59
	Giant's corpse transforms: fingers into commoners, limbs into the chief's family and chest into the chief	Hsu, 1956, p. 165
Seediq	[b]Four legged monsters transform into men	Pu, 2012, p. 33–34; Liu, 2018, p. 15
Tsou	Gods transform grass dolls into man	Pu, 2012, p. 36
	[a]Gods transform fruit into man	Pu, 2012, p. 35
	[a]God transforms seeds into man	Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172
	[a]God transforms leaves into men	Tung, 1964, p. 287
	[b]Leopard kitten transforms into man	Hsu, 1956, p. 161

[a] Original object flew prior to transformation into a man.

[b] Deliberate creation by a higher power omitted from narrative.

3.3 *Offspring of the Gods*

In addition to being the product of deliberate acts of creation such as singing and transformation, various phratries accredit the gods as the progenitures of man's earliest ancestors. Texts which describe the creation of man as a result of deities performing coitus with other deities are found throughout Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Pazeh, Puyuma, Rukai, Sakizaya and Seediq texts. These "offspring of mythical ancestor-deities who came from the sky or a distant land" as Ferrell (1969, p. 37) puts it, were the protoplasts of modern man.

Variety is demonstrated within the Amis compendium regarding the identities of the gods who descended to assume the role of Earthly protoplasts including Abokurayan and Tariburayan, Sera and Nakaw, Keseng and Madapidap, Cihcih and Di'sil, and Kakumodan Sappatorroku and Budaihabu. (See Table 1) Conversely, while some Atayal texts claim that the protoplasts were a mother-son duo of deities who landed at Big Snow Mountain in central Taiwan (Rau, 1992, p. 242), other Atayal myths support the motif of celestial ancestors claiming that "a god and two goddesses came down" (Pu, 2012, p. 197; Hsu, 1956, p. 156 & Kim, 1980, p. 146) and bore the protoplasts. This, along with the Takivatan Bunun (Hsu, 1956, p. 159) fragment about seven women being impregnated by five sky-men, a god-human hybrid motif, are the sole allusions to polygamy in the primary anthropogonic corpus. Furthermore, a third motif within the Seediq record describes wood spirits who transformed into gods and gave birth to the first men (Hsu, 1956, p. 155 & Pu, 2012, p. 34).

In the case of Bunun mythology, a primordial giantess who created the mountains is recognized as a direct ancestor, even as Kanakanavu texts claim that a stone born goddess and a sand eating god are the protoplasts. At least one Paiwan myth says that "The ancestral deities had five children and all of them dwelt on the slope of Mt. Kavurungan" (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 87) while another Paiwan passage attributes the parentage of man to seven celestial sibling-beings who created nature and man (Pu, 2012, p. 285). The majority of the Pazeh texts offer variations on the theme that "the ancestors of the Pazeh people are from the Makiyawasu who descended from heaven and lived on the planes of Central Taiwan. They raised many generations" (Liu, 2018, p. 24).

While the Sapokan text simply states that "In the past, a god and a goddess appeared. They are our ancestors" (Hsu, 1956, p. 165) other Rukai traditions name the gods known as the *Sun* and the *Pot* (Pu, 2012, p. 285) as the progenitors of man.

One Sakizaya text attributes the creation of man to the union between the rain gods Macapidap and Kusung (Huang, 2009, p. 48–49). Likewise, a Seediq tradition insists that the protoplasts were deities who emerged from a half wood, half stone tree in the mountains (Pu, 2012, p. 34).

While all of these myths regard gods who resided upon the Earth as being responsible for the paternity of the protoplasts, one Rukai tradition maintains that "the moon gave birth to their ancestors" (Davidson, 1903, p. 574). In order to commemorate their origins, it is said that "in the house of a chief a round stone, circular in form, intended to represent the moon, is preserved" and that "strangers are not permitted to approach" this sacred object (Davidson, 1903, p. 574).

TABLE 15 Man as offspring of the gods

Tribe	Source
Amis	Taylor, 1886, p. 79; Mabuchi, 1974, p. 91; Pu, 2012, p. 38 & 39 & 101, Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 295; Ferrell, 1969, p. 54; Frazer, 2013, p. 106; Chien, 1994, p. 91; Hsu, 1956, p. 167
Atayal	Pu, 2012, p. 197 & Hsu, 1956, p. 156; Rau, 1992, p. 242
Bunun	Hung & Lin, 2021; Hsu, 1956, p. 159
Kanakanavu	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88
Kavalan	Shimizu, 1998, p. 89–126
Paiwan	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 87; Pu, 2012, p. 285; Egli, 1989, p. 27–28; Davidson, 1903, p. 576
Pazeh	Pu, 2012, p. 40; Ferrell, 1969, p. 50; Liu, 2018, p. 24; Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373; Ho, 1967, p. 269
Puyuma	Del Re, 1951, p. 45
Rukai	Pu, 2012, p. 28; Hsu, 1956, p. 165; Hsu, 1956, p. 166; Davidson, 1903, p. 574
Sakizaya	Huang, 2009, p. 48–49
Seediq	Pu, 2012, p. 34; Chen, 2020, p. 340a

3.4 *God-Human Hybrids*

The motif of man as the offspring of gods and humans, i.e., god-human hybrids, is found in Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai and Tao anthropogonic myths. According to one Bunun myth, "In the earliest times there were seven women on Earth, and five men fell from the heavens. They got together and gave birth to two males" (Riftin, 2001, p. 196). Likewise, the Laiyi Paiwan believe that, "there was a beautiful woman in the ancient times. The god liked her so it had sexual intercourse with her. She bred many little snakes, which became human beings" (Pu, 2012, p. 26). Another Paiwan myth says that satakaraws descended to the plains where he married sachijoke chijoke and started a tribe (Hsu, 1956, p. 164). This text demonstrates not only that mankind has a god as an ancestor, but that the first people were reptilian children of gods (Nephilim). In one Puyuma text, the goddess who created all life on Earth mated with the first man to propagate the race of men (Quack, 1981, p. 95–97).

One Rukai myth bears a strong resemblance to the Taravasadji Rukai account of a goddess who married a giant whose penis was so large that she killed him and transformed his corpse into the protoplasts. However, in this

TABLE 16 God-human hybrids

Tribe	Source
Bunun	Riftin, 2001, p. 196
Paiwan	Hsu, 1956, p. 164; Pu, 2012, p. 26
Puyuma	Quack, 1981, p. 95–97
Rukai	Eisenberg, 2019, p. 96
Tao	Del Re, 1951, p. 47

myth, the goddess married a man and had a child with him prior to killing him (Eisenberg, 2019, p. 96). As such, this myth shows that man is the product of a union between a goddess and a man, if a giant can be considered human; A debatable proposition.

The Tao myth of Ibago indicates that a demigoddess who lived in heaven "obtained permission from Ibago to descend upon the Earth in order to visit her cousins. All of the youths of the village fell in love with her and wished to marry her, so she chose one" (Del Re, 1951, p. 47). The youths and the demigoddess are classified as "cousins" because they are all the grandchildren of separate sets of protoplasts who were created by Ibago.

Concerning the Kavalan myth presented by Shimizu, depending on one's interpretation of the text, it may be argued that the god-man Siangaw was mortal, a demi-god or even a god. As such, it is debatable whether this creation motif is appropriately classified as due to conception between gods or conception between a goddess and a man.

3.4.1 Tattoos, Trickery and Incest

The origins of tattoos, trickery and incest are highly correlated in Formosan mythology. While explicit and implied incest in the primary anthropogonic myths is ubiquitous across most Formosan origin myths, the present section is dedicated to incest as a result of trickery which relies on the use of tattoos. In a world bereft of mankind, the recurrent theme of protoplastic mothers and sisters obscuring their faces with tattoos in order to trick their sons and brothers into incestuous liaisons endures and speaks to the primal desire of women to assume motherhood roles. It has previously been recognized that "Amis, Atayal, Kavalan, and Saisiyat oral literatures link the origins of the tattoo to the deluge" (Gauss, 2022, p. 257). However, the results of the present investigation reveal that among certain Atayal, Puyuma, Seediq and Truku phratries, the motif of tattooing in the antediluvian context is present. All

of these tattoo origin texts are correlated with the distinct motifs of trickery and incest.

One Atayal text for example (Rau, 1992, p. 242) maintains that after the first goddess came to Taiwan, she ascended the summit of Big Snow Mountain where she gave birth to a son. Unable to find a wife for the youth, she disguised herself with a facial tattoo in order to deceive her son into marrying her. This mother-son incestuous union is believed by some phratries to be the origin of the Atayal people.

Multiple motifs in this Atayal origin text are echoed in the Kalewan Kavalan deluge myth (Shimizu, 1998, p. 218–237) which chronicles the events surrounding a female deluge survivor and the origin of the Atayal tribe known to the Kavalan as the Maytumad phratry. The Kavalan text describes a woman who took her child into the mountains and tricked him into marrying her by tattooing her own face. As such, it is notable that both Kavalan and Atayal informants appear to have independently corroborated this origin motif.

Another Atayal text points to a stone origin at Pinsbkan. It is said that:

> One day, the younger sister was thinking about the matter of reproduction, and worried that her brother would not have sex with her, so she came up with a way to deceive her brother, and then said to her brother: "Tomorrow, there will be a woman behind the mountain, with a black face, when you see her, you can have sex with her, that is your wife." The elder brother did not doubt her so he did what she said. Since then, they have combined to have children and become the ancestors of the Atayal people. This is the origin of man and tattooing. (Chou, 2015)

Just as there are two versions of the Atayal myths which give differing accounts of the origin of tattooing, the Truku also recount three related myths. In one text, the first human spirit emerged from the root of a giant tree on Poppo Mountain which bifurcated into a man and a woman. One day this woman smeared her face with tree bark and sap to trick her twin brother into fecundating her for the purpose of procreation (Pu, 2009, p. 134). A similar tradition follows a stone origin rather than a tree origin (Chang, 2012, p. 247).

The third Truku tattoo origin myth indicates that a chief who was ashamed to look upon the face of his malformed daughter set her adrift on the sea with a dog. They landed near modern day Hualien where the dog kept the girl alive by hunting and procuring food for her until:

> One day the dog said to the daughter, "I have sought food to serve you several years but have never received any special favor so I am thinking of

> leaving you." The chief's daughter said, "Since I have received your sincere care, how could I forget your reward. Fortunately, I know a girl who has a tattooed face so I will go and bring her to you for your wife." A few days later, after tattooing herself, the chief's daughter came back. She married the dog and from them the Taroko people descended. (Ho, 1967, p. 256–257)

Not only does this text chronicle the origins of the Truku as being the result of facial tattooing, trickery and bestiality, it also establishes the origins of female dominance over terms related to sexual congress. Recognizing the male need for sex, the female utilized it as a method of payment for the provision of protection and material needs. The monetization of sex as a quid pro quo for what the female interpreted as "sincere care" is chronicled herein. This fulfills part of the definition of *myth* offered by Bascom (1965) which states that myth is "cited as authority in answer to ignorance, doubt, or disbelief" (p. 4).

While the Puyuma primary anthropogonic myths don't specifically mention tattooing, one narrative clearly adheres to the theme in the Atayal and Truku texts. All of these texts, including the following Puyuma myth, chronicle females who employed disguises in order to intentionally deceive male relatives with whom a generative relationship was taboo for the purpose of becoming impregnated.

The relevant excerpt of the aforementioned Puyuma text states that:

> … the mother told her child to walk down the road to meet someone. She dressed herself up and waited on the road where she met her son and tricked him into believing she was someone else. She made love to him and became pregnant. That was the beginning of mankind. (Quack, 1981, p. 95–97)

According to the Renai Seediq origin myth, "the mother dyed her face with tree sap and married her own son. Then she gave birth to a child. Later, the son discovered that his wife was his mother" (Liu, 2018, p. 13).

TABLE 17 Tattoos, trickery and incest

Tribe	Source
Atayal	Rau, 1992, p. 242–243; Chou, 2015
Puyuma	Quack, 1981, p. 95–97
Seediq	Liu, 2018, p. 13
Truku	Chang, 2012, p. 247; Pu, 2009, p. 134; Ho, 1967, p. 256–257

3.5 *Transcendental Conception*

Transcendental or *immaculate* conception, that is, the birth of a child from a person or god absent any sexual contact is a common theme throughout Golden Age myths as well as the secondary anthropogonic myths. However, within primary anthropogonic myths, this motif is restricted to Atayal, Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Rukai, and Tao oral traditions. While in most cases, these pregnancies are caused by air or wind, such pregnancies are not limited to female characters or even abdominal gestation within humans.

According to one Tao origin text, among the stone-born protoplasts, a being described as a "father" established an interdiction against eating certain species of fruit. In fact, the interdiction even extended to entering the area where the fruit grew. "Do not go to our plantation, because then you will eat the fruits of kalelenden and pali" (Benedek, 1991, p. 324). Somehow, the father knew that the childlike protoplasts would be overcome by temptation by simply coming too close to the fruit. When the interdiction was inevitably violated, the knees of the transgressors were impregnated. "His knee swelled up, and he was very ashamed … Afterwards the child had an offspring" (Benedek, 1991, p. 324). The father was forced to punish these male protoplasts by banishing them from the isle where they "broke out from the hard rock" by casting them adrift in big wooden boxes saying "You stay far away from me, because the excrement of Lovolovoin will spray you!" (Benedek, 1991, p. 324).

In another Tao myth, after the god Ibago created bamboo, he ordered the wind to blow upon it until the bamboo opened and two protoplasts, a male and a female, emerged (Del Re, 1951, p. 45). In this narrative, divine wind fecundates the bamboo, functioning as a precursor to the birth of the protoplasts.

Among the Atayal traditions, there is a tale of a woman who emerged from a giant collapsed stone, an example of stone genesis, at inkahol'an. She then sat upon a mountain top, spread her legs, and allowed the wind to blow into her womb and she conceived a child. Impregnated by the wind, she gave birth to a boy. This mother and her son were the protoplasts (Tsai, 1996, p. 88). Narratives of this type are characteristic of Formosan Golden Age texts.

Of the three Kanakanavu texts, only one describes transcendental conception. However, the child that is born through this process is unique because, at his verbal command, he could open portholes in stones:

> In ancient times, a woman became pregnant on her own. She gave birth to a child without a husband. This child, conceived out of wedlock, said to a stone: "Divide yourself!" The child entered through the opening as if into his house and lived there. When this child stepped outside and

> looked around, he found that the entire land was made of rocky abyss. There was no place where the tribe members could live. When he once stomped the ground with the millet pestle, half of the area became level while the rest remained rocky terrain. (Pache, 1964, p. 162)

One Rukai origin text contends that the egg-born sibling protoplasts Gilagilau and Alayiumu gave birth to Adralhiu and Maututuku. All of sibling couple Adralhiu and Maututuku's children were deformed and died in their infancy until one girl named Gayagade survived. Since Gayagade's father had become impotent, there was great concern about how she could get pregnant until:

> One day the sky was very hazy when suddenly a flash of light appeared from the east. Through the clouds a ray of light shone upon the ground. A betelnut fell behind the light. Maututuku picked up the betelnut, put it in her mouth and began chewing. She then became pregnant and gave birth to a son Sumalalay … This is how the Rukai Tribe began. (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 67–68)

One Paiwan text also preserves the motif of transcendental conception through eating. However, rather than eating fruit, the Paiwan myth tells that a lightning born woman ate a lightning born serpent which impregnated her (Admin. 2016d). Another Paiwan text is as follows:

> God created the world and animals. God wanted to create something new, so he breathed his breath into the eggs of the most beautiful snake and ordered the snake to care for and hatch the eggs. The protoplasts hatched and god was delighted. God gave the snakes venom to protect the people and act as their guardians. (Lai, 2010, p. 24)

While transcendental conception is thus achieved through eating in Tao (a Bashiic language), Paiwan and Rukai primary anthropogonic myths, wind/breath is noted to have caused pregnancies in the Atayal, Paiwan and Tao myths. Fruit, lightning born serpents and wind are therefore magical agents which, in one Tao text, are the object of interdiction provided by the helper character within the Proppian framework. It is noteworthy that Golden Age texts from a wide range of tribes including the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan and Puyuma, implicate wind as the agent for transcendental conception while Kanakanavu and Tsou Golden Age texts attribute these miraculous pregnancies to the discovery of driftwood in young women's fishing nets.

TABLE 18 Transcendental conception

Type	Tribe	Source
Wind	Atayal	Tsai, 1996, p. 88
	Tao	Del Re, 1951, p. 45
Eating pali & kalelenden fruit	Tao	Benedek, 1991, p. 324
Eating cosmic betelnut	Rukai	Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 67–68
Eating cosmic serpent	Paiwan	Admin. 2016d
God breathes into snake eggs	Paiwan	Lai, 2010, p. 24
Unstated	Kanakanavu	Pache, 1964, p. 162

3.6 *The Sons of God*

By implication, the motif of the protoplasts being created in the sky and subsequently dispatched to reside upon the Earth below, is ubiquitous throughout those texts that rely on the cosmic vessel motif. However, a substantially lower frequency of texts explicitly describe the protoplasts as children of the gods whose history begins in heaven prior to being dispatched to Earth. Amis, Atayal, Paiwan and the Tao myths include this motif. Moreover, Amis, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai and Saisiyat texts describe the protoplasts as children of the luminaries.

According to the Kiwit Amis myth as it was reported by Frazer in 1918:

> In ancient times there existed the god Kakumodan Sappatorroku and the goddess Budaihabu. *They descended* to a place called Taurayan*, together with two children*, the boy Sura and the girl Nakao. (Frazer, 2013, p. 106–107)

This Kiwit Amis text, which was substantiated in the *Survey Reports on the Formosan Aborigines 1913–1921* (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101), indicates explicitly that the protoplast demi-gods Sura and Nakao, were brought down to Taurayan by the gods who descended from the sky. During the subsequent deluge the parent gods ascended the ladder to return to the sky leaving Sura and Nakao behind to survive the flood and populate the Earth.

Numerous "stone ladders" have been unearthed in Taitung which is home to the Amis and Yami tribes among others, both of which have origin myths describing ladders which were used to ferry the protoplasts to Earth from the sky. Could these monolithic artifacts, the significance of which has been forgotten, be ritual objects which were created based, in part, on the origin myths?

FIGURE 9 Taitung's mysterious stone ladders. Stone ladder display at The National Museum of Prehistory (國立臺灣史前文化博物館). Medium: slate. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, JUNE 24, 2023, IN TAITUNG

The Atayal text offers a slightly different narrative. Prior to descending to Big Snow Mountain, the Atayal goddess created the protoplast and escorted him to Earth where she raised him. When he had reached sexual maturity, they had many children together who became the ancestors of the Atayal (Rau, 1992, p. 242).

A Paiwan myth says that Kulelelele and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, created man along with the Earth and everything in it to alleviate their loneliness. Thereafter, they "arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house" to instruct man (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430). The plurality of the Pazeh texts say that the Magyawas gods fell from heaven and populated the Earth with their children.

Finally, some Tao texts also speak of the sons of gods who were born in heaven and were sent to reside on the Earth. In one Tao myth (De Beauclair 1959, p. 14), the creator god Shimo-rapao, whose name means "ancestor," created the protoplast in the sky and dispatched him to Orchid Island. In most versions of the myth, this protoplast was dispatched to the island encased in a stone while in other recitations, the protoplast traversed the sky in a golden sedan chair or an object described as a "golden ladder" (De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20).

3.6.1 Cosmic Vessel Origins

In addition to the aforementioned Amis, Atayal, and Tao texts, primary anthropogonic narratives from several other tribes heavily insinuate without explicitly stating that the protoplasts were intentionally dispatched to Earth by sky-dwelling creator gods. Furthermore, Amis, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Paiwan

(almost always explicit), Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Seediq, Truku, Tsou and Tao myths explicitly indicate that the protoplasts emerged from objects including lightning, plants, bamboo, gourds, insects, larva, feces, eggs, lilies, seeds, leaves, stones, sedan chairs, and even with the aid of ladders which functioned as *cosmic vessels*. These cosmic vessels physically transported the protoplasts to Earth where they "acted as a giant placenta, which conceived and fed the new embryonic beings" including humans and gods (Rappengluck, 2009, p. 113).

According to the ROC's Ministry of Culture, the eggs that either transformed into or gave birth to the protoplasts:

> … took shape high up in the firmament. They slowly floated down from heaven to descend upon Mount Tawu. The yellow egg was emanating a golden glow as it gradually reached its destination, and when it touched the ground, it turned into a delicately handsome young man. Meanwhile, the green egg, which was emitting a beautifully gentle and mellow radiance as it came gliding down, turned into a lovely young woman as it made contact with the earth. (MOC-Paiwan)

The Paiwan Neishitou origin myth describes Cosmic Eggs that formed within bamboo. After bursting out of the bamboo:

> They grew bigger as the sunshine shined on them. These eggs moved next to the tree in windy days and under the shadow of the tree in hot days. They grew as large as oranges. They cracked open one day and two boys were born from the eggs. The first was 'aljunguan and the other was Saljimlji. There was another small and brittle stone that split open and bore a black egg. This egg grew bigger as the sunshine shined on it. It cracked open later and a girl came out from the egg. (Pu, 2012, p. 286)

While the size of said cosmic vessels is sometimes stated, as a "small urn" – Ravar Paiwan (Pu, 2012, p. 24–25); a "small trumpet-shaped white flower" – Kaitanjinan Rukai (Tien, 2022, p. 26–27); or an egg with a "small stone" – Neishitou Paiwan (Pu, 2012, p. 286), it is heavily implied and even explicitly recorded that the protoplasts were of extremely small stature. Not only were they implicitly small enough to fit within gourds, larva, eggs and seeds among other objects, in the Tjaqovoqovilje Paiwan myth for example it is recalled that the protoplasts that emerged from the stones which had been dispatched to the mountain top by the sun were "dwarfs about 2 to 3 inches tall" (Pu, 2012, p. 24). One Seediq text echoes this motif saying that the first man was "the elf of human beings" who was born from a tree root (Pu, 2012, p. 35).

The existential implication across the Formosan texts is that the cosmic vessels which originated in the sky were dispatched to the Earth for the purpose of conveying the protoplasts to their new terrestrial homes. The grammatically passive voice often employed in these accounts describes how the cosmic vessels *fell, appeared,* or were *placed* on the Earth before the protoplasts emerged from within them. In a limited selection of texts, double and triple cosmic vessel motifs are preserved in which a vessel, such as an egg, *fell, appeared,* or was *placed* within another object such as a pot, which was encased within a larger vessel such as a cave.

Consistently, the cosmic vessels are said to have fallen from the sky into pools, ceramic vessels, caves and especially onto mountain summits and precipices where they were perhaps, found by animals and insects. When the protoplasts eventually emerged, they were naïve and often required instruction and other aid from birds and flies to procreate and otherwise survive.

An Amis text chronicles how the first ancestors fell to Earth within a bolt of lightning that struck a tree which they later emerged from at Arapanai (Hsu, 1956, p. 168). In another text, the goddess Kumi slipped and fell to Earth with a plant called puwa. It was from within this puwa that the first man emerged (Hsu, 1956, p. 167). Other phratries credit a staff of bamboo that was struck down into the Earth by a god with functioning as the vessel that conveyed the protoplasts to Earth (Taylor, 1886, p. 79). Meanwhile, the creator gods are said to have escaped the deluge by scaling a cosmic ladder to return to heaven (Mabuchi, 1964, p. 101).

FIGURE 10 The protoplasts emerge from eggs. Public art display. Medium: paint on concrete. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, APRIL 5, 2022, AT PAIWAN VILLAGE OF PACAVALJ (DANIAO) IN TAITUNG

One of the most widely reported Bunun origin myths tells of a gourd carrying the first man and woman that fell from the sky (Hsu, 1956, p. 159). Some Bunun myths assert that a gourd that "fell down from heaven, broke open, and two persons came out of it" and that it was these beings whose children multiplied (Ho, 1967, p. 246). In another version the cosmic gourd fell to Earth hidden amongst the petals of a red flower, representative it seems, of fire. After the gourd touched down, a winged worm-like creature called Sokkalu emerged from it and gradually transformed into the protoplast (Tsai, 1996, p. 67).

The claim that man descended within a bee larva (Fang, 2016, p. 124) has also been asserted by Bunun informants. In at least one text, the protoplasts descended to Earth within an object that traveled from the sun and resembled an insect: "In ancient times, during the setting of the sun, a beautiful insect with wings appeared from the sun. One day, the bug transformed into a humanoid. It had many descendants" (Ou, 2017, p. 25). Another text insists that "The first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky" (De Busser, 2009, p. 630). Numerous alternative narratives elaborate on this motif as is accounted for below in *Feces Genesis*.

The majority of the Paiwan cosmic vessel texts state that the origin of man can be traced to strange eggs or stones which were placed on Earth by the sun god. Li, Yi-yuan pontificates that the motif of a birth from the sun's egg originated with Paiwan phratries while the stone genesis motif "belongs to Rukai and Puyuma tribes" (Pu, 2012, p. 26). However, details vary among different villages and some Paiwan traditions indicate that the protoplasts originated in a bamboo staff which was struck into the Earth by a god (Egli, 1989, p. 32 & Fong, 2021, p. 27). A number of Paiwan texts from the Makazayazaya, Cimu Vutsul Paumaumaq Wangjia, and Tjaqovoqovilje phratries record that the protoplasts were dispatched to Earth encased within cosmic sun eggs or sun stones.

In most cases, the protoplasts were dispatched to Earth within a single cosmic vessel such as an egg or a stone. However, in a limited number of cases double or even triple cosmic vessel motifs can be found within the Paiwan compendium. Examples of double cosmic vessel motifs include sun eggs within swings, pots, or under stones. The triple cosmic vessel motif is most salient in one text (Hsu, 1956, p. 162) wherein an egg was laid in a wooden bowl on a swing. The Shimen Paiwan myth which is emblazoned upon the Shimen High School perimeter wall says that the protoplasts were born from double cosmic vessels, sun eggs "under a four-meter-tall square milky white stone (known as) *vucelacelai a tjagulj*" (Shihzih, 2018). Likewise, the Atsudas Paiwan text claims that the protoplasts were born from four cosmic eggs which came out of a stock of bamboo that grew out of the Earth (Ho, 1967, p. 243).

Certain Paiwan texts assert that the unhatched cosmic eggs were protected by guardians including gods and snakes. For example, the Makazayazaya Paiwan myth says that the sun eggs were hatched by the Vorun snake (Ho, 1967, p. 249). Moreover, within some narratives, it is said that the protoplasts were nurtured by the sun, gods, or snakes immediately after exiting the eggs. In some cases, it is said that the assistance of the Milimilingan (holy people) was necessitated in order to prompt the vessels to release the protoplasts (Pu, 2012, p. 24) and in one case, the female who was born from a moon egg subsequently created the ancestors via singing (Pu, 2012, p. 24). The protoplast Lemej was cared for by the sun:

> According to ancient tradition, the sun laid an egg in Tjuaalabus Rhuvaniau. Rhuvaniau is the name for a chief's house. When the egg broke open, there was a human in it. After this man came forth, the sun washed him. No one has ever been allowed to enter the place where the child was washed, but this place still exists today. The name of the child who hatched from this egg was called Lemej. That was the first person. (Egli, 1989, p. 31)

Among the Puyuma myths, the majority of traditions rely on cosmic stone or cosmic bamboo motifs. At the appearance of the cosmic stone, sources testify that at first the tide bubbled, then dust appeared forming a stone out of which the protoplast emerged (Pu, 2012, p. 36). The bamboo motif texts indicates that the Amis and Puyuma tribes share a common ancestor that emerged from a deity's walking stick which he had struck into the Earth (Cauquelin, 2004, p. 29). However, an earlier version indicates that "The first people who lived in our area were the Amis. One day, they planted a bamboo in the ground. This grew larger and we Beinan people came out" (Pache, 1964, p. 68).

In addition to the stone and bamboo origin motifs, some Puyuma informants have recorded that the ancestors of the ruling caste were born from a cosmic egg or snakes while commoners are descended from a sky-being. In one version, the protoplast, a chief called sarolibaku, was born from a sun egg in a ceramic vessel (Hsu, 1956, p. 167).

According to one Rukai myth the anthropogonic origins of man can be traced to a union between the sun and a ceramic pot which, through successive generations, eventually resulted in the birth of the first man (Pu, 2012, p. 28). Likewise, the cosmic egg motif is preserved in another Rukai text which attributes the origin of man to the union between a daughter of the sun and a stone born man (Hsu, 1956, p. 166). The final cosmic vessel origin motif known

among the Rukai claims that the protoplasts were born from sun eggs which were positioned within a ceramic vessel deep within a cave at Kaliaharn (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 62–69).

An alternative Rukai motif on the origins of man and a cosmic vessel are recorded within a narrative which suggests that the "children emerged from a jar which either came from the sky or was impregnated by sunbeams" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 44). Other phratries indicated that the "ancestors came down from heaven with twelve earthen jars" and that these jars are "handed down from generation to generation" (Davidson, 1903, p. 574).

Additionally, two Rukai texts, both which were previously unavailable in English, indicate that the anthropogonic origins of the ancestors hinges on the relationship between a goddess and a lily flower. The Haocha myth accredits a goddess named Peanut who, by simply looking at and admiring beautiful lilies, caused the ancestor of the ruling caste to be born from the lily (Tien, 2022, p. 26). The other account accredits the goddess Moakaikai for the origin:

> The goddess Moakaikai visited Dawu Mountain during spring when the lilies were in full bloom. Suddenly, the soul of the goddess was drawn by a magnificent and bright flower. It was a small trumpet-shaped white flower. As the flowers were swaying in the breeze, the heart of the goddess entered communion with the lilies and a boy was conceived within the lily's ovary. Since then, the lily has become the totem of the Rukai tribe. The boy became the ancestor of the Kaitanjinan family. (Tien, 2022, p. 26–27)

Of all the Saisiyat primary anthropogonic myths, only one embraces a cosmic vessel origin motif. It's also the only text in the entire Formosan corpus which tells of protoplasts who emerged from a vessel laden with specific objects. It is said that the Saisiyat ancestors stepped forth from a malodorous boulder at the summit of Dabajian Mountain after a congregation of birds converged there and prayed to god to open said boulder. According to this narrative, after the birds closed their eyes and prayed, "out of nowhere, a piece of grass flew here … (there was) a loud burst, the huge rock split open … (and the protoplasts) walked out from the rock. One of them had a banana in the hand and the other had a betelnut" (Pu, 2012, p. 32).

The Kolo Seediq origin myth relates details about the ancestors size and their being dispatched to Earth within cosmic fly eggs. A male and a female protoplast were born from a fly egg or eggs and went on to bear children together. See Ho (1967, p. 250) and Hsu (1956, p. 156).

FIGURE 11 Lily and ceramic vessel tomb adornments. A small Christian cross is flanked by comparatively much larger lily flowers and ceramic vessels on this modern Rukai tomb celebrating the enduring importance of these cultural totemic symbols. Medium: painted concrete.
PHOTO BY AUTHOR, JANUARY 30, 2023 AT A CEMETARY IN TAITUNG

Three distinct cosmic vessel motifs incorporating seeds, leaves and fruit are found within Tsou mythology. All three vessels are said to have fallen to the Earth at the hand of a god. In one myth, the protoplasts emerged from the Earth where they were planted as seeds and grown by the god Hamo (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173). Another text, also cited by Ferrell, indicates that the protoplasts were carried to Earth within the leaves and fruit of the maple tree which Hamo shook to Earth (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173). A text cited by Tung attributes the dispatchment of the protoplasts within leaves to the god Nivnu (1964, p. 287). Finally, one narrative claims that the Tsou protoplasts emerged from maple fruits which fell to Earth, again, because a god shook the tree upon which the fruit grew (Pu, 2012, p. 35).

The Tao tribe of Orchid Island attributes the origins of man to cosmic stones and bamboo among other themes. One Tao text archives the employment of two separate types of cosmic vessel and states that the protoplasts were born en masse of stones which bamboo born goddesses carried in their uterine armpits (Hsu, 1956, p. 168). Other Tao myths claim that the creator god Shimo-rapao created the first man in the sky and dispatched him to the Earth reclining in a golden sedan chair (De Beauclair, 1959, p. 14) while another insists that, in fact, the first man descended to the Earth and alighted from

a golden ladder that connected the heavens and Earth after being created in the sky (De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20). One text, which might be considered of the triple cosmic vessel type states that the protoplasts were born from the knees of a god, that emerged from a mountain, that was on the island, that the god created (CIP-Yami). Lastly, another claim indicates that the protoplasts emerged from bamboo which had been placed on Earth by the creator deity Ibago (Del Re, 1951, p. 45).

In all cases of protoplasts emerging from cosmic and non-cosmic vessels, it is clear that, while interned within these vessels, the protoplasts were unable to procreate. Thus, exiting the vessels was always a necessary precursor for procreation.

TABLE 19 Cosmic vessel motifs

Tribes	**Cosmic vessel creation theme**	**Source**
Amis	Lightning	Hsu, 1956, p. 168
	Puwa (plant)	Hsu, 1956, p. 167
	Bamboo	Taylor, 1886, p. 79
	Ladder (used to return to heaven)	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101
Bunun	Gourd	Riftin, 2001, p. 195; Ho, 1967, p. 246–247; Hsu, 1956, p. 159
	Gourd with Winged Worm	Tsai, 1996, p. 67
	Sky feces	De Busser, 2009, p. 630
	Winged insect	Ou, 2017, p. 25
	Bee larva	Fang, 2016, p. 124
Kanakanavu	Stone	Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88

TABLE 19 Cosmic vessel motifs (*cont.*)

Tribes	Cosmic vessel creation theme	Source
Paiwan	Lightning	Admin 2016
	Bamboo	Egli, 1989, p. 32; Fong, 2021, p. 27
	Sun Egg	Pu, 2012, p. 22; Pu, 2012, p. 24; Egli, 1989, p. 31; Shihzih 2018; Hsu, 1956, p. 162; Ho, 1967, p. 249
	Sun Egg in swing[a]	Pu, 2012, p. 22
	Sun Egg in pot[a]	Pu, 2012, p. 25
	Eggs in wooden bowl on a swing[b]	Hsu, 1956, p. 162
	Sun Eggs under Stone[a]	Shihzih, 2018
	Moon Egg	Pu, 2012, p. 24
	Sun Egg in pool	Pu, 2012, p. 26; Hsu, 1956, p. 161 & 162
	Sun Stone	Pu, 2012, p. 23
	Sun Stone Eggs	Pu, 2012, p. 286
	Stone	Fong, 2021, p. 27
Puyuma	Stone formed from dust from the bubbles of the sea	Pu, 2012, p. 36
	Sun egg in ceramic vessel[a]	Hsu, 1956, p. 167
	Walking stick of god	Cauquelin, 2004, p. 29
Rukai	Sun Egg	Pu, 2012, p. 28; Hsu, 1956, p. 166

TABLE 19 Cosmic vessel motifs (*cont.*)

Tribes	Cosmic vessel creation theme	Source
Rukai	Sun Egg in ceramic vessel in cave[b]	Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 62–69
	Lily flower	Tien, 2022, p. 26–27
Saisiyat	Stone (mountain top, birds, flying grass, explosions)	Pu, 2016, p. 32
Seediq	Fly egg	Ho, 1967, p. 250; Hsu, 1956, p. 156
Tsou	God Seeds	Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172
	God Leaves	Tung, 1964, p. 287; Pu, 2012, p. 35; Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172
	God Fruit	Pu, 2012, p. 35
Tao	Bamboo	Del Re, 1951, p. 45; Hsu, 1956, p. 168; CIP-Yami
	Stone	Benedek, 1991, p. 225–230; Benedek, 2018, p. 40
	Stone/golden sedan chair	De Beauclair, 1959, p. 14
	Stone from goddess's armpits[a]	Hsu, 1956, p. 168
	Golden ladder	De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20

a indicates a double vessel motif.
b indicates a triple vessel motif.

3.7 *Human-Animal Hybrids*

Regardless of temporal or chronological placement within the myth-time, the motif of bestiality is widespread in Formosan mythology. Throughout Golden Age texts, bestiality is most commonly manifested as women initiating and

engaging in sexual intercourse with animals such as bears, dogs, snakes, monkeys, deer, and even worms among others. For example, one Bunun source chronicles how "A long time ago humans and animals mixed freely. Women got all sorts of offspring, birds and hairy creatures without eyes and noses" (Rokkum, 2002, p. 716–717). However, within the strict context of the primary anthropogonic myths, oral histories describing human-animal hybrid protoplasts are limited to Ketagalan, Pazeh, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai and Truku traditions.

According to the Ketagalan origin myth, at an overseas location, prior to the protoplasts traveling to Taiwan, an elder promised to give his leprous daughter to anyone who could cure her malady. A dog licked her wounds for several days, and she was cured. True to his word this elder reluctantly betrothed his daughter to the canine but set them adrift, presumably to hide his shame. The girl and the dog traversed the sea and disembarked on Taiwan where they bore many children (Ho, 1967, p. 257). The Ketagalan people traditionally believed that they were the progeny of this leprous girl and dog.

One Paiwan myth states that the protoplasts, who were of explicitly unknown origin, gave birth to a daughter who was relegated to marrying a dog because no man was living and her father had become impotent. Moreover, the dog had previously saved the girl's life by licking a terrible wound she had suffered to her foot. After marrying the dog, she gave birth to a litter of 14 children on a single day. The children separated into 7 male-female pairs and founded their own villages (Egli, 1989, p. 28–29).

According to one Puyuma texts, the first human's bones were stone and her flesh was earth. She gave birth to the world and all of the animals, one of which was a monkey/son who she married. Her pregnancy ended in the birth of a monkey/boy who, when grown up, unwittingly killed his monkey/father who he didn't know. In order to make more people, the mother disguised herself and met her son along the road where she tricked him into believing she was someone else. She then made love to him and became pregnant with his brother/son (Quack, 1981, p. 95–97).

Human-animal hybrid ancestors are also chronicled in the Rukai myth of Canovak, the first chief of the Ali tribe. Canovak's mother, an egg-born demigoddess and daughter of the sun and a pot, married a hundred-pace snake. After he was born, Canovak was abandoned by his mother and father as they ascended to heaven and deserted him on the Earth (Hsu, 1956, p. 166 & Pu, 2012, p. 28).

The Truku myth of the woman who married a dog follows a similar plot line with the Puyuma myth. In the Truku narrative, the dog child was named Skum Awi. According to the myth, when Skum Awi grew up he accidently killed his father, the dog, after which Skum Awi married his mother who gave birth to his siblings/children (Kim, 1980, p. 148–152 & Hsu, 1956, p. 156). Another Truku

TABLE 20 Girl-animal hybrids

Tribe	Girl/Animal dyad	Offspring	Source
Ketagalan	Girl/Dog	Many	Ho, 1967, p. 257
Paiwan	Girl/Dog	14 (seven pairs)	Egli, 1989, p. 28–29
	Girl/Snake	3 children	Lai, 2010, p. 29
	Girl/Snake	1 son & 2 girls	Hsu, 1956, p. 162
Puyuma	Girl/Monkey (son)	Son	Quack, 1981, p. 95–97
Rukai	Girl/Snake	2 Sons	Pu, 2012, p. 28; Hsu, 1956, p. 166
Seediq	Girl/Pig	1 Son	Liu, 2018, p. 13
Truku	Pig Feces Girl/Dog	1 Son	Kim, 1980, p. 148–152; Hsu, 1956, p. 156
	Girl/Dog	The people	Ho, 1967, p. 256–257

myth that is based on a drift origin theme claims that the Truku are the descendants of a malformed woman and a dog (Ho, 1967, p. 256–257).

3.8 *Animal Ancestor*

Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai and Seediq myths describe the first ancestors and being born from animals. While kinship between man and animals is the basis for many totemic icons, these myths omit the motif of a human parent and instead chronicle animals who functioned as man's progenitors. One Seediq text calls attention to the fact that humans and animals share a common ancestor: "These animals were ancestors of beasts, human beings and birds … " (Pu, 2012, p. 34).

According to the Kuljaljau Paiwan phratry, the ancestors were born from the eggs of hundred-pace snakes (Pu, 2012, p. 24). Another Paiwan text states that the ancestors were born from snake eggs after god breathed upon them (Lai, 2010, p. 24). The motif of the dog ancestor is also preserved in the Puyuma tribe (Hsu, 1956, p. 167) and the Guluo Paiwan myth which states that "There was a

TABLE 21 Animal ancestors

Tribe	Ancestor	Source
Paiwan	Snake	Lai, 2010, p. 29; Hsu, 1956, p. 162; Eisenberg, 2019,p. 85; Pu, 2012, p. 24
	Dog	Egli, 1989, p. 28–29
	Turtle	Eisenberg, 2019, p. 85
Puyuma	Snake & dog	Hsu, 1956, p. 167
Rukai	Snake	Hsu, 1956, p. 166 & Pu, 2012, p. 28
Seediq	Fly	Ho, 1967, p. 250

dog between two trees. He was a stranger and he gave birth to a man. This is why when a dog dies, it is given a funeral and treated like a person" (Hsu, 1956, p. 163). One Paiwan text indicates that the ancestors of the common caste of people were born from a turtle egg (Eisenberg, 2019, p. 85).

The motif of being born from snake eggs is also shared by some phratries within the Puyuma (Hsu, 1956, p. 167) and Rukai (Hsu, 1956, p. 166 & Pu, 2012, p. 28) tribes.

The Seediq fly egg creation myth states that "in ancient days a fly came out of nowhere and laid eggs. The eggs hatched, and two persons, a man and a woman came out of them. They are the ancestors of mankind" (Ho, 1967, p. 250).

3.9 *Intermediary Animals as Creation Catalysts*

As defined above, Genesis myths describe the spontaneous birth of man from inanimate vessels. Given this, it could be argued that any narrative that describes the origin of man as being contingent upon or resulting from the actions of any living being or creature, should be categorized as creation rather than genesis origins. However, on the borderline between creation and genesis origin motifs, there exists within some Formosan texts, an ambiguous category of texts that combines both creation and genesis elements. Animal characters within the texts function as intermediaries that pray on behalf of unborn man and as catalysts who act as harbingers to the arrival of man.

Within the context of stone genesis, two subcategories including stone + bird genesis and stone + hound genesis are present. Both the Atayal and the Saisiyat tribes tell myths involving birds that actively worked to open stones which the protoplasts emerged from. The birds "prayed for the appearance of human beings every day (until) … the (birds') prayer worked" (Pu, 2012, p. 146). Moreover, the Calisian Rukai phratry credits the divine hound with draining a pond in which cosmic stones appeared allowing the people inside to emerge (Pu, 2012, p. 21).

Cultural context is required for interpreting Rukai myths regarding the divine hound. Rukai refer to the Formosan Clouded Leopard (Neofelis nebulosa) which traditionally served as a companion and hunting assistant as a *hunting dog* (Kadreseng, 2009, p. 101) or the *divine hound* (Kadreseng, 2009, p. 104). Therefore, according to the Calisian Rukai genesis text, the clouded leopard plays an integral role in the origin of man.

TABLE 22 Animals as catalysts and the origin of man

Tribe	Character/Catalyst	Vessel of origin	Source
Atayal	Birds pray to god	Split stone	Pu, 2012, p. 146
	Birds drop stone into water	Split stone	Tsai, 1996, p. 87
	Bird flies to giant stone	Split stone	Hsu, 1956, p. 155–156
Paiwan	Dog barks & cat scratches eggs	Cosmic sun eggs	Shihzih, 2018; Hsu, 1956, p. 161
	Dog drinks river water	Underwater smoke	Hsu, 1956, p. 164 & 161
	Two dogs touch primordial ceramic vessel	Ceramic vessel	Lai, 2010, p. 29
Rukai	Formosan Clouded Leopard drinks pond water	Exposed stones	Pu, 2012, p. 21
Saisiyat	Birds pray to god	Split stone	Pu, 2012, p. 32

3.10 *Creation by People*

One Puyuma text does not fit within aforementioned creation motifs. While all of the other creation motifs rely on the gods, ancestors from the sky, animals or other extraordinary themes, a myth published by Pache attributes the origin of the Beinan phratry of the Puyuma tribe to actions taken by the neighboring Amis tribe.

> The first people who lived in our area were the Amis. One day, they planted a bamboo in the ground. This grew larger and we Beinan people came out. (Pache, 1964, p. 68)

This account is an anomaly as it contradicts all other accounts found throughout this study. Specifically, other texts claim that the ancestors of the Amis and the Puyuma emerged contemporaneously from a broken stone. See Cauquelin, 2004, p. 28. As such, this motif of creation by people is noteworthy.

4 Genesis Motifs

Genesis myths describe the spontaneous birth of man from inanimate vessels such as stones or plants. *Spontaneous* is defined as "happening without premeditation" and "having no apparent external cause or influence; occurring or produced by its own energy force, etc. or through internal causes; self-acting" (Agnes, 2008, p. 1385). Based on this definition, many origin myths that indicate the protoplasts' emergence from objects such as bamboo, gourds, feces, eggs, seeds, stones etc. do not qualify as genesis myths because external influences on said objects perpetrated by gods and animals must be considered.

In addition to spontaneous or self-acting emergence from vessels, the vessels in genesis narratives are Earthbound and therefore non "cosmic" in nature. Though they often share characteristics with cosmic vessels, being described at times as *stones* for example, genesis myths omit any mention of a sky origin, the intercedence of the gods or external forces wrought by intermediary animals. Moreover, key descriptors such as *fell, appeared,* or were *placed* are not found in genesis myths. As a result, non-cosmic vessels are classified separately from the previously described cosmic *lightning, plants, bamboo, gourds, insects, larva, feces, eggs, seeds, leaves, sedan chairs* and *ladders* which are found in Amis, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Seediq, Truku, Tsou and Tao texts. The true genesis motifs that are distributed throughout the Formosan

anthropogonic myths are contingent on spontaneous emergence from stones, trees, feces, chthonic abodes, bamboo, smoke and lilies.

Differentiating between cosmic and non-cosmic vessel motifs is further complicated by the fact that regardless of vessel type, the beings that emerged from both vessel types came into existence prior to exiting from the vessels. That is to say, both creation myths with cosmic vessels and genesis myths with non-cosmic vessels are predicated on the existence of already created physical objects (both natural i.e. *gourds* and unnatural i.e. *ceramic vessels*) from which man emerged into an already created realm. As such, even genesis myths with clearly spontaneous emergence motifs could be interpreted as de-facto creation myths in which the gods presumably facilitated man's genesis through the precursory creation of said inanimate non-cosmic vessels, especially among tribes that have other oral traditions which assert the agency of the gods as creators of the world and man.

Notwithstanding these tenable objections, the present study contrasts genesis myths with creation myths and defines genesis thus: genesis myths rely on spontaneous emergence from earthbound vessels and overtly elide any indication of external influences by creator gods, intermediary animals or other deliberate or premeditated actions.

All of the 74 genesis texts referenced throughout the Genesis Motifs section are introduced above in Chapter 2 and are available in full in the Appendix/Corpus.

4.1 *Stone Genesis*

Previous literary surveys have found that the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai and Tao tribes all have myths which describe the genesis of man from a stone (Ho, 1967, p. 56–57 & Riftin, 2001, p. 195). While these studies fail to differentiate between primary and secondary anthropogonic genesis themes, it is remarkable that previous observations regarding stone genesis are mostly supported by the evidence presented in the present study which is confined in scope to the realm of primary genesis. However, the current study finds that both Seediq and Truku tribes have stone genesis narratives as well.

One Amis stone genesis myth says that the:

> … ancestors were born from a stone which lay on a mountain near Chipun (Jhiben) river. Tiruti and Tihongan being thus *created*, founded a village called Varangao. Four of their descendants, all brothers, proceeded to the north across the Pinan river, and became the ancestors of the tribe now there. (Davidson, 1903, p. 580)

FIGURE 12 The stone genesis. Outdoor art display. Medium: fresco on carved concrete. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, AUGUST 30, 2022 AT CHIHPEN IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH, IN JHIBEN, TAITUNG

The verbiage in this text illustrates the existent difficulties involved in determining a text's intended motif regarding man's origins. While the protoplasts were said to have been "born from a stone" denoting a genesis motif, the chronicler also records that they were "created." Nevertheless, since the inclusion of a god, sky origin or the intervention of any previously existing creature is absent, this text is identified herein as a genesis text.

One of the earliest records on the origins of the Paiwan tribe was published in 1886. That account says simply that "in the beginning a rock burst open and two beings, male and female, came forth, from whom they (the Paiwan) are descended" (Taylor, 1886, p. 227, & Wirth, 1897, p. 365). In the various iterations of the Paiwan stone genesis motif, at a minimum, one female emerges from a stone. In one case, two pairs of protoplasts come forth from the stone. In one Paiwan text, sundry animals were produced en masse from a stone at Vangau. Among these, the monkeys and badgers transformed over time into men:

> In Vangau there was a large stone with a large round hole in the middle. From this hole came the monkeys and badgers. It was not just one animal, but rather they were created in large numbers. The tigers, the

> magpies, and the hundred-step snakes also emerged from this stone. (Egli, 1989, p. 30–31)

While the Paljizaljizaw Gaoshihfu phratry agrees that the first man and woman burst forth from a stone (Pu, 2012, p. 25), another Ravar text specifies that two men and two women emerged from a stone (Pu, 2012, p. 23). In Taimali, it is said that the first woman burst forth from stone and survived by drinking the sweat of the rock (Pu, 2012, p. 25) which indicates that the protoplasts relied on sustenance which was provided by the "stone." Is this evidence that the "stone" was a cosmic vessel which was equipped to provide sustenance to the protoplasts?

Another Taimali genesis myth says that "At Panapanayan there was a stone, the stone split and a woman named rarigimu came out. She married basakaran from Taromak and they had two daughters" (Hsu, 1956, p. 163). However, the Parilarilau Paiwan text provides much greater detail on the generations of the stone born protoplasts:

> There was a large stone at kinabakan that split open giving birth to a man and a woman. The male was sadjimudji. The woman was saumai. The two of them had children. But the first was a snake. The second was blind and the third was missing limbs or headless. Finally, they had complete children. (Hsu, 1956, p. 163–164)

A variety of Puyuma texts also adhere to the stone-genesis motif. The following text names the outbursters and records their migration:

> In very ancient days there existed a large stone at the foot of Mt. Aravanai (southern extremity of Pinan plain). On an eventful day, however, this stone burst and gave birth to a man and a woman, called Unai and Tanval respectively … The two now married and gave birth to three boys and three girls, whose descendants became the ancestors of the different tribes of the present Puyuma group. (Davidson, 1903, p. 578)

Both the Plngawan Seediq and Tpuquan Truku phratries share a stone genesis myth claiming that a pair of protoplasts emerged from a broken stone at Pusu Qhuni. According to the Tpuquan version, a boy was born from this union and when his father died, the boy's mother tattooed her own face to trick her son into marrying her (Chang, 2012, p. 247).

TABLE 23 Stone genesis

Tribe	Source
Amis	Chien, 1994, p. 91; Ho, 1967, p. 240; Chang, 2012, p. 243; Davidson, 1903, p. 580; Chien, 1994, p. 91
Atayal	Norbeck, 1950, p. 13–14; Pu, 2012, p. 33, 197; Obayashi, 1966, p. 3; Kuan, 2013, p. 121; Chou, 2015; Hsu, 1956, p. 154–155, 166; Rau, 1992, 243; Chang, 2012, p. 247; Eisenberg, 2019, p. 103
Bunun	Ho, 1967, p. 239; Ou, 2017, p. 25; Chang, 2012, p. 245
Paiwan	Pu, 2012, p. 23; Pu, 2012, p. 23–24, 25, 286; Wirth, 1897, p. 365; Hsu, 1956, p. 163–164; Egli, 1989, p. 30–31; Fong, 2021, p. 27; Shihzih 2018; Taylor, 1886, p. 69
Puyuma	Pu, 2012, p. 36; Quack, 1981, p. 40, 95–97; Quack, 1981, p. 38–40; Cauquelin, 1991, p. 17; Huteson, 2004, p. 8–9; Hsu, 1956, p. 166; Davidson, 1903, p. 578
Rukai	Pu, 2012, p. 20, 28; Qiao, 2001, p. 46; Ho, 1967, p. 240; Hsu, 1956, p. 166; Portnoy, 2010, p. 37 (Male only)
Seediq	Chang, 2012, p. 245
Tao	Benedek, 1991, p. 324; CIP-Yami
Truku	Chang, 2012, p. 247; Liu, 2018, p. 16

4.2 *Tree Genesis*

The second most widely distributed Formosan genesis theme relates to tree origins. Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Rukai, Seediq, Truku and Tao texts attribute the origin of the ancestors to the trunks, forks, roots, leaves and fruits of cosmic trees.

Determining the appropriate classification of tree origin as a genesis motif or as a creation motif is cause for consternation. Unlike the stone genesis texts described in the previous section, the tree origin texts rarely center around normal or common trees, such as one might find in the jungles of Taiwan in modern times. Rather, the plurality of the Formosan tree origin texts rest upon trees of an extraordinary nature.

Descriptions of the trees vary, but those found in the Amis, Atayal, Rukai, Seediq and Truku texts are described as giant trees that reached into the heavens. Some Amis, Atayal and Seediq texts explicitly describe the giant tree as being composed half of wood and half of stone. The Seediq refer to this tree as

Pusu Qhuni (also transliterated as Posho Kafuni) which translates to *place of origin* (Seediq Dictionary, 2016, p. 108).

One Truku text which was originally published in 1923 describes the tree as "as tall as the sky" with leaves that concealed the sun "so the universe remained dark" (Pu, 2012, p. 34). The Truku texts refer to a giant tree called Layatz,

TABLE 24 Tree genesis

Type	Tribe	Description	Sources
Tree Trunk	Amis	Giant tree Giant tree, half-wood/half-stone	Hsu, 1956, p. 168 Hsu, 1956, p. 168
	Rukai	Giant tree Giant tree	Pu, 2012, p. 20 Hsu, 1956, p. 165
	Seediq	A tree Giant tree, half-wood/half-stone Giant tree, half-wood/half-stone Old tree Sky Tree, half-wood/half-stone Giant tree	Asai, 1953 p. 79 Pu, 2012, p. 34, 35 Chen, 2020, p. 340a Chen, 2020, p. 340b Liu, 2018, p. 15, Pu, 2012, p. 33–34 Tan, 2020
Tree Roots	Atayal	Giant tree (Stone in root)	Hsu, 1956, p. 155; Chen, 2020 p. 339
	Seediq	Great tree Sky Tree, half-wood/half-stone Giant tree	Pu, 2012, p. 33–34, 35 Tan, 2020; Hsu, 1956, p. 155; Lin, 2018, p. 15; Asai, 1953, p. 50
	Truku	Giant tree Mek-mogau tree Layatz tree	Pu, 2009, p. 134 Hsu, 1956, p. 155 Kim, 1980, p. 148–152
Tree/Dog	Paiwan	A dog between two trees	Hsu, 1956, p. 163

Note: "Sky trees" indicate texts that explicitly state that the trees reached into the sky; Also called "Cosmic Trees." Tree roots exist underground. As such, this motif is also *chthonic*.

meaning *boneless tree* (Truku Dictionary, 2016, p. 100) which is said to have been so huge that it covered half of the world. Moreover, its leaves could cure infirmity (Kim, 1980, p. 148–152). "The Layatz tree eats heat or has the power to sever the heat. The tree is a combination of the trunk of a banana tree and the leaves of a mulberry tree" (Kim, 1980, p. 150).

Though the tree origin motif is considered herein as a genesis type, it is not lost on the author that it could be argued that origins from a "Cosmic Tree" or a magical spirit tree that reaches into the heavens, as it were, could be considered a cosmic origin motif. Through this lens, all of the tree origin texts could be classified as creation texts rather than genesis text. However, as previously noted, these texts make no explicit reference to creator gods and do not chronicle journeys to the sky. Rather, the protoplasts simply emerged from these colossal trees.

As noted in a discussion on *Idioms in the Discourse on Origins*, "Austronesian discourse on origins is … often bolstered by recourse to folk etymologies (which include) tree, trunk, base, and source" (Fox & Sather, 1996, p. 6). Various parts of the giant tree are identified as points of emanation. Some Amis, Atayal, Rukai, Seediq and Truku texts claim that the protoplasts emerged from the trunks of these trees while other Atayal, Seediq and Truku traditions instead focus on the roots of said trees. The Guluo Paiwan myth claims that the protoplast was born from a dog between two trees (Hsu, 1956, p. 163). Another Atayal tradition says that the protoplasts appeared from a stone that cracked in the middle of a giant tree root (Hsu, 1956, p. 155).

The outlines of these myths are provided in Chapter 2. For details related to Tsou and Kanakanavu maple tree, leaves and fruit transformation which is wholly dissimilar from emergence and the motif of genesis, see the section titled *Transformation* above.

4.3 *Feces Genesis*

While some Atayal and Truku literatures ascribe to feces origin myths, the feces genesis is a centerpiece of Bunun anthropogonic mythology. Various Bunun phratries ascribe the genesis of the protoplasts to feces that was defecated by the Earth, a spider, a dog, a worm, or even the white mold that grows on feces. The Taki Banuaz Bunun phratry believes that the first child was "born from the dog excrement beside the roots of a mountain" (Pu, 2012, p. 30). The Ganchuowan Bunun phratry adheres to the belief that "A worm made excrement balls and threw them into two holes. After 15 days, a male and a female appeared from these two holes" (Ou, 2017, p. 24).

The Malepa Atayal text incorporates the feces with the chthonic genesis motifs. It is said that the ancestors originated in a large pile of dirt which

TABLE 25 Feces genesis

Type	Tribe	Source
Earth	Atayal	Hsu, 1956, p. 156
Spider	Bunun	Jhong, 2018, p. 10
Dog		Pu, 2012, p. 30; Riftin, 2001, p. 196; Hsu, 1956, p. 158
Worm		Ou, 2017, p. 24; Hsu, 1956, p. 158; Chang, 2012, p. 245
Earth		Hsu, 1956, p. 158
Mold		Hsu, 1956, p. 158
Pig	Truku	Kim, 1980, p. 148–152; Hsu, 156, p. 156
	Seediq	Chang, 2012, p. 256

reeked of human feces on Dabaijan Mountain. One night there was a large earthquake splitting the land asunder after which a man and woman came out. These people were the protoplasts (Hsu, 1956, p. 156).

Truku and Seediq phratries traditionally believed in a pig feces genesis for their people. The Truku say that in the beginning, three beings including one snake emerged from pig feces in the shade of the half stone-half wood Layatz tree. The Layatz tree reached into the cosmos from the sacred mountain called Degiyak Bulowan (Kim, 1980, p. 148–154). Degiyak Bulowan is said to have been the only mountain upon the face of the antediluvian flat Earth.

4.4 *Chthonic Genesis*

According to Webster's Dictionary, the word *chthonic* comes from the Greek word *chthonios* meaning *in the earth* (Agnes, 2008, p. 263). Many well-known origin texts from around the world rely on a chthonic motif of mankind being made of earth or coming out of the Earth. For example, the Bible says that "the LORD God formed man of the dust of the ground" (Genesis 2:7). Likewise, in his ethnographic work titled *Germania*, Cornelius Tacitus (56–120 AD) recorded:

> The Germans, I am apt to believe, derive their origin from no other people; and are nowise mixed with different nations arriving amongst them … In their old ballads (which amongst them are the only sort of registers and history) they celebrate *Tuisto*, a God sprung from the Earth, and *Mannus* his son, as the fathers and founders of the nation.

For some researchers, the chthonic origins motif is "interpreted as mother earth giving birth to the human race" (Silverman, 2016, p. 183). With this poetic imagery in mind, it is noteworthy that Taiwan's oldest archeological site, which is said to have been inhabited 30,000 years ago, the Baxian Cave in Changbin Taiwan (Liao, 2017) physically resembles a human mother's birth canal. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, none of the Formosan primary anthropogonic myths specifically identify the Baxian Caves as the matrix of chthonic origin.

The chthonic origins motif stands in stark opposition to the celestial cradle of cosmic vessels which is so prevalent in Formosan mythology. Nevertheless, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Rukai, Sakizaya, Seediq and Tsou literatures have myths regarding the protoplasts emerging from subterranean matrices. Additionally, one Yami text claims that the god "Nemotacolulito walked out of the crack to the mountain" and gave birth to the protoplasts from his knees (CIP-Yami). Caves, cracks in mountains, roots, holes and seeds from within the Earth are venerated as the loci of primary anthropogonic genesis among various oral histories. One Seediq informant boldly asserted that "The cave is the *real* birthplace of the ancestors" (Sung, 2020). According to another Seediq source, the protoplasts emerged from a crack in a stone cliff called *Pusu Ohuni* (Chang, 2012, p. 177). This chthonic origin is reiterated by the Atayal myth which states that "In ancient times, there was a cliff in the land of Pinsbkan. One day, the cliff became two caves, and one male and one female came out of it. After that, the two of them became numerous" (Tien, 2003). Another Atayal text recalls that the matrix stone "rose up from the ground" (Eisenberg, 2019, p. 103).

The sole chthonic origin narrative found in the Bunun tradition simply states that "The tanapima clan was born from red taro (tang-'dangqas)" (Hsu, 1956, p. 159), the roots of which grows underground. Meanwhile, at least one Ravar Paiwan text that describes a female protoplasts named Satjuku who emerged from underground (Pu, 2012, p. 25) while another text provides the detail that this occurred at Kadumuan (Wutou Mountain) (Pu, 2012, p. 21). Likewise, the female protoplast of the Ravar group was "born from the ground and was named Satjuku" (Pu, 2012, p. 24–25).

Some Rukai myths describe a chthonic origin as well, saying that the protoplasts emerged from cosmic eggs "deep in a cave at Kaliaharn" (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 63). Another Rukai informant insisted that the ancestors "come from a hole obstructed by a grindstone" (Zeitoun & Lin, 2003, p. 47). According to

TABLE 26 Chthonic genesis

Tribe	Source
Atayal	Tien, 2003; Eisenberg, 2019, p. 103
Bunun	Hsu, 1956, p. 159
Paiwan	Pu, 2012, p. 24–25
Rukai	Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 62–69; Zeitoun & Lin, 2003, p. 47
Sakizaya	Chen, 2010, p. 26–27
Seediq	Sung, 2020; Chang, 2012, p. 177, 246
Tsou	Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173
Yami	CIP-Yami[a]

a The Yami chthonic origin is caused by a creator god and doesn't neatly fit the "genesis" motif.

one Sakizaya text, the protoplasts Botoc and Sabak simply "came out of the land at Nararacanan" (Chen, 2010, p. 26–27). Surprisingly, this genesis origin motif is not represented in Amis narratives. Finally, one account of the Tsou god Hamo, indicates that mankind was grown inside the Earth "Which is why people are sometimes called tsamuh tsojoua, 'those who grew from the soil'" (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173).

4.5 *Bamboo Genesis*

Within the Paiwan compendium, some texts attribute the origin of man to a bamboo genesis. According to one, at the summit of Dawu Mountain, at a place known as pinabaokatsan, a bamboo vessel split open allowing several serpents to come forth from this joint. These snakes grew and gradually transformed into the protoplasts, a man named Salimudjudo and a woman named Sarumai (Hsu, 1956, p. 163–164). While this genesis occurred on a mountain summit, since deities and a descent from the sky are omitted, this tradition is not considered to regard a creation origin.

The Atsudas Paiwan bamboo genesis text also occurs on Dawu Mountain and describes how four unusual eggs burst out of water-filled bamboo there. "During the daytime these eggs separated, but during the night they joined together as one. After five or six days snake-like men and women emerged from the eggs" (Ho, 1967, p. 243).

4.6 *Smoke Genesis*

In addition to the stone genesis motif within Parilarilau Paiwan text, one Parilarilau narrative preserves the agency of the dog ancestor but bestows the agency of genesis upon smoke that bubbled up from within a stream:

> Once, a dog was drinking water in a stream, smoke suddenly appeared at the bottom of the stream, and two people, a man and a woman appeared in the smoke. The male's name was ritsan, the woman's name is not known. (Hsu, 1956, p. 164)

Obviously, smoke is the result of combustion and, typically combustion cannot occur naturally under water in a stream. The incredible nature of this smoke genesis make the motif stand out. Otherwise, smoke is rarely mentioned in the origin myths with the notable exception of a Kavalan myth which states that the creator god known as a Mutumazu named Siangaw employed smoke from burning grass as a vehicle to ascend to heaven after completing her work of creation (Shimizu, p. 1998, p. 89).

4.7 *Lily Genesis*

Finally, supplementary to the two aforementioned Rukai creation texts that characterize lilies as cosmic vessels, a third text related to the lily origin was also recorded as it pertains to the Taromak Rukai. This text is dissimilar from the other Rukai lily origin texts in that it may characterize lilies as passive loci of genesis rather than cosmic vessels. Specifically, according to the Taromak tradition, the male protoplast emerged from a stone while the female protoplast emerged from a lily. However, even in this myth, it could be argued that the female's birth was somehow related to the gaze of the stone born man. This feature of male and female genesis from dissimilar origins also indicates a non-sibling type of protoplastic couple.

> The first of the Taromak was a man of the Lrabalriyoso clan, who was born from a stone in the high mountain lakes at a place called Kariyalra near the territorial border with the Western Rukai. While walking through the forest he set eyes on a dazzling lily flower, which turned into a beautiful princess, and became his wife. (Portnoy, 2010, p. 37)

CHAPTER 4

Drift Origin Themes

FIGURE 13 *Drift in a box*. Outdoor art display. Medium: fresco on carved concrete. The motif of a drift origin is also associated with the vagina dentata motif in Amis, Paiwan and Tao myths which this art display could reference. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, AUGUST 30, 2022 AT CHIHPEN IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH, IN JHIBEN, TAITUNG

Previously, findings by Ferrell identified the drift origin motif among five tribes, namely the Amis, Kavalan, Ketagalan, Liulang and Saisiyat (1966b, p. 185). However, the present study has discovered that the drift origin motif is exponentially more widespread than was previously understood. In addition to creation and genesis origin myths, phratries within the Amis, Bunun, Hoanya, Kavalan, Ketagalan, Liulang (Kulon), Makatao, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya, Siraya, Trobiawan (Basay), Tao/Yami and Truku tribes venerate overseas drift origin narratives. These sixteen tribes, provide the 50 drift origin texts and are predicated upon the belief that the ancestors of Taiwan's aboriginals had primary anthropogonic origins at locations other than the island of Taiwan. Those overseas loci were abandoned in favor of Taiwan which the ancestors reached by drifting or in some cases "sailing."

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Within the context of the deluge mythologem, drifting or floating is the most commonly described method of survival among the Formosan oral histories. "Amis, Kavalan, Sakizaya, Saisiyat, Paiwan, Pazeh, Puyuma, Seediq, and Truku myths include survivors who float to safety in a vessel" (Gauss, 2022, p. 145). The prevalence of this motif across various epochs of myth-time makes differentiating between primary anthropogonic drift motifs, deluge float themes, and other Golden Age ocean voyage myths somewhat cumbersome. Nevertheless, the present study considers only those drift motifs that describe the first members of a tribe as travelers who traversed the sea from distant lands and settled in Taiwan. With rare exceptions, these myths of a tribe's earliest ancestors are not chronologically preceded in the myth-time by other detailed primary anthropogonic texts within a given phratry.

Mabuchi famously noted that Trobiawan (Basay), Kavalan and Amis mythologies "share a homeland motif that has all of them coming originally from an island called Sinasay or Sanasay" (Li, 2004, p. 364). Sanasay meaning *coconut trees* according to Kang (2018, p. 186) or possibly *Island of Fire, i.e. Green Island* according to the Ministry of Culture (MOC-Kavalan) is identified on numerous maps from the 1890s as *Samasana*. Peter Kang endorsed Mabuchi's finding: "Sanasai as an island name is mentioned as a stopover in legends concerning the maritime migrations of various Formosan Austronesian ethno-linguistic communities such as the Basay, the Kavalan, the Amis/Pangcah, and the Puyuma, from their ancestral homeland south of Taiwan" (Kang, 2018, p. 187). The present study finds that the Sanasay drift origin motif is actually represented in double as many tribal traditions as was previously reported. Amis, Kavalan, Ketagalan, Liulang, Puyuma, Sakizaya and Trobiawan origin texts reference Sanasay. Moreover, the Yami epic of Ibago also names Green Island as a place of banishment for protoplasts who later gave birth to diseased children.

The Ministry of Culture speculates that "Sanasai may have been a stopover not just for the Kavalan, but also for many other tribes who came to Taiwan across the Pacific, including the … Bunun" (MOC-Kavalan). However, only one drift origin myth is found in the Bunun compendium with the Take-bakha phratry. This drift text omits any mention of Sanasai or any "stop over" islands (found in Ho, 1967, p. 329). Thisnotwithstanding, is it coincidental that the Bunun word for "wait for, wait until" is *Sanasi* (DeBusser, 2009, p. 621)? What are the implications of the existence of Bunun word *Sanasi* with this meaning, in the absence of drift origin myths which reference and island called Sanasay in Bunun oral history?

While researchers continue to speculate about the location of Sanasay, Mabuchi identified it as the island north of Botel Tobago (Orchid Island) which is known today as Green Island or Ludao (Mabuchi, 1974, p. 90). Further

substantiating the claim that Sanasay is Green Island, Kang elaborated saying "the Formosan Austronesians in eastern Taiwan referred to Green Island as *Sanasana*" (2018, p. 186).

Green Island averages just 16 square kilometers in size depending on the tides. As such, it seems the unlikely homeland of any sizable ancient civilization. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence including pottery and stone tools, indicates that Green Island has been visited or inhabited by humans since at least 2,500 B.C. (Kuo, 2019, p. 43) making it a tenable candidate for the mythological Sanasay, perhaps as a stopover point. Moreover, in 1886, the first semi-ethnographic record of the inhabitants of Green Island pontificated that "the natives … are partly the descendants of Chinese from the Amoy province, intermixed … with Formosan aborigines, or possibly with natives of the Meiacosima, or Liu-kiu islands" (Harrison, 2001, p. 161); The Meiacosima Archipelago to the northeast of Taiwan being the only location to the north that has ever been associated with Sanasay. This report appears to substantiate Green Island's function as a potential stopover location for people of various origins.

In a lecture given in 1958, Manly P. Hall pointed out that "nearly all of the (North American) Atlantic seaboard tribes have legends of one kind or another related to the existence of a mysterious land located directly to the east" where their ancestors drifted from (Hall, 2022). While located half a world away, the Atlantis traditions with North American tribes is clearly relevant to the Formosan drift themes that also describe a mysterious land to the east where the Amis god and father of the protoplasts Abokurayan lived (Chien, 1994, p. 90).

Evidence exists that some tribes so venerated their drift origin myths that they curated ceremonial boats and celebrated these origin myths through annual reenactments and sacrificial offerings. As is archived throughout

TABLE 27 Drift origin rituals

Tribe	Details	Source
Amis	Annual reenactment of disembarkation in ritual boats	Davidson, 1903, p. 580
Bunun	Banitor trees mark the location of disembarkation	Ho, 1967, p. 329
Kavalan	Two ceremonial boats kept to commemorate origin	MacKay, 1885, p. 95
Makatao	Gray-Faced Buzzard migration represents messengers from former habitation to the south west	Lin, 1996, p. 144
Puyuma	Location of disembarkation is sacred land, annual sacrifices, entry and use taboos, death for trespassers	Taylor, 1889, p. 228

Chapter 4, some tribes with drift origin myths regarded these oral traditions quite literally and traditionally commemorated them ritualistically. Amis and Kavalan phratries integrated boats into these rituals, Bunun and Puyuma phratries demarcated the locations of disembarkation with sacred plants and Makatao people regarded the Gray-Faced Buzzard as messengers from their ancestors who lived overseas.

1 Amis Drift

One of the earliest references to the origins of the Amis comes from George Taylor who noted that "the other aboriginal tribes look upon them as foreigners" (Taylor, 1889, p. 229) believing them to be the descendants of a foreign vessel that intermarried with preexisting aboriginal peoples. "The crew were allowed to live and intermarry with the natives, on the understanding that they and their posterity were for ever to consider themselves an alien race, subservient to the true aborigines" (Taylor, 1889, p. 229). Indeed, the Amis were traditionally known as *papian* meaning *slave* by other tribes (Kaneko & Tsuchida, 1982, p. 112). Moreover, the matriarchal "Amis people kept losing and many tribal members were continually tied, killed, and hurt by Puyuma people. Amis people started fearing Puyuma tribe and were willing to submit as slaves" (Pu, 2012, p. 371).

However, not all oral traditions concur that the Amis were late-comers and the progeny of foreigners. Some Puyuma myths even directly contradict the Amis-as-late-comers narrative. One Puyuma text claims that "The first people who lived in our area were the Amis. One day they planted a bamboo in the ground. This grew larger and we Beinan people came out" (Shroder, 1964, p. 68).

Perhaps the most colorful of the seven Amis drift origin myths comes from the northern Riru phratry. According to this tradition, the ancestors of the Amis "came from over the sea on the back of a large tortoise" (Davidson, 1903, p. 580). While the motif of being born from turtle eggs can be found in Paiwan texts, this Amis myth is the only oral tradition that describes the riding of a tortoise, or any other animals across the seas in the primary anthropogonic mythologem.

It has been widely documented that the "Amis oral tradition admits of arrival in Formosa over the sea. The names of overseas places such as Sanasay, Vasai, Vatan (Batan), etc. have been mentioned, indicating stepping stones, if not the origin, of migrations" (Chen, 1987, p. 12). It is therefore unsurprising that as many as seven drift origin texts can be attributed to the Amis tribe.

However, for a more specific reference, Nanshih Amis tradition indicates that the protoplasts were a brother and sister named Doci and Lalatan. These siblings were born overseas on an island called *Lagasan* or *Kalapana-panai* and they subsequently drifted to Taiwan as children. It is said that after they grew up, they married and became the ancestors of the Amis (Kim, 2003, p. 30–31).

A second Amis drift origin myth names the protoplasts Duji and Naya. It is said that after disembarking on Taiwan, Duji and Naya who were not siblings, separated in order to search for other people but, eventually, finding no one, they married each other and gave birth to several children (Beaupre, 2007, p. 95–98).

> According to the belief of the tribe occupying the Shukoran River (秀姑巒溪) valley, they originally occupied the neighboring island of Sanasanac and were called Sanasai. Later they came in boats, landed at the mouth of the Shukoran river, and established seven large villages there. Thus, the name at present given to the island is perhaps a corruption of Sanasana. (Davidson, 1903, p. 580)

One tradition stands out in particular because this origin myth was said to have been celebrated annually:

> The Riru tribe of Kirai district of the northern Amis state that their forefathers originally lived in an island to the east of Formosa. One savage, called Tipots, and his family were out at sea in two canoes when a terrific gale arose, sweeping them away from their home land, and wrecking them on the coast of Formosa, where they built houses and gave life to the present Riru tribe. This tribe possesses an old canoe, which they claim is the model of the one used by their forefathers. At present, the village people once a year put the canoe into the sea and mimic the landing of their ancestors. After this ceremony, the spirits of their departed ancestors are worshipped. (Davidson, 1903, p. 580)

This same "old canoe" was reportedly photographed in 1976 by Tsui-Feng Shih and documented in his work *Primitive Religions and Creations Myths of Taiwan Aborigines.* Shih indicated that the canoe which was displayed at the Amis Cultural Village in Hualien was touted as "physical evidence" of a drift origin and justification for the Sea Sacrifice ceremony which was redubbed Worshiping the Sea Dragon King ceremony in modern times (Shih, 2000, p. 101).

Another Amis drift origin myth offers a great deal of detail and is predicated on the understanding that the protoplasts of the Amis originated in a place overseas called *Madaya*. They had many children there, but one day the flood came

so the two protoplasts tied themselves with vines to a giant floating tree as the whole Earth was covered. They drifted to 16 islands before discovering an island with fresh water to live on. They planted crops and lived there for many years until they made a final drift voyage from that small island westward to Kakawasan, in Taitung City, on the larger island of Taiwan. From Kakawasan they could see an active volcanic island to the East that they called Sanasay. A muntjac swam to Sanasay and retrieved fire for them. This is the origin of the Amis who were the first people on the island of Taiwan (Dongi, 2015, p. 297–305).

According *to Zircon U-Pb Age Determination of Volcanic Eruptions in Lutao and Lanyu* (Shao, Chung & Chen, 2014), uranium-lead dating surveys on Green Island indicate that the most recent volcanic eruption there occurred approximately 1.24 million years ago. Likewise, geological evidence indicates that the most recent volcanic eruption took place about 2.6 million years ago and "may have been active from the middle Miocene to Pliocene" (Shao, Chung & Chen, 2014, p. 186). Yet, volcanic eruptions on Green Island are recorded in Amis oral history indicating that these myths are decidedly ancient.

2 Bunun Drift

Since the Bunun tribe isn't generally considered a coast-dwelling tribe, it is perhaps surprising to discover that some phratries within the tribe accredit the origins of their ancestors to a drift theme. Of all 24 origin myth texts attributed to the Bunun tribe, only one references a drift origin motif. It claims that "the Take-bakha Bunun phratry Banitoran was the place where our ancestors first landed on this island. Because there were so many banitor trees on the shore, we called the place by this name" (Ho, 1967, p. 329).

3 Hoanya Drift

The Hoanya tribe is an unrecognized pingpu group that historically occupied central western Taiwan to the north of the Siraya tribe. A single Hoanya drift origin text chronicles how the tribe's ancestors were forced to abandon their original homeland and drifted to Taiwan in order to escape a giant man-eating monster ghost.

> The tribesmen who escaped cut down bamboo poles, built a large raft, and floated across the sea to avoid the giant with the big black wings.
>
> The Hoanya people drifted with the wind and waves for many days before they reached the central plains of Taiwan. (Chen, 1993, p. 98)

4 Kavalan Drift

The earliest Kavalan record concerning the tribe's place of origin comes from missionary sources. In 1895, missionary George Leslie MacKay (1844–1901) discovered via interviews with the Kavalan people which he spelled *Kap-tsu-lan* that their earliest ancestors disembarked on the island of Taiwan in boats from the south. He even noted that "two canoes are kept to commemorate the coming of their fathers to the island" (MacKay, 1885, p. 95). MacKay found that the Kavalan had come from overseas, perhaps "one of the Philippine Islands"

TABLE 28 Structural elements of the Kavalan drift origin myths

Text	Origin	Cause	Disembark	Survivors	Vessel
2	Mariryan		Tamsui	Many	Many boats
3	Snasay	Wind	Ilan	4 siblings	1 boat
4[a]	Sunasay – Philippines	O.P.[b] Wind	Taiwan	Many	Many boats
5	Snasay	Storm	Hualien	4 (2 brothers with wives)	
6	Unknown island	O.P.	Taiwan	Many	5 boats
7	Sunasai	O.P.	Taiwan	3 siblings	
8	Sunasai	O.P.	Takilis	3 (more implied)	3 boats
9	Snasai		Taiwan	4 siblings	
10	Sanasai	Storm	Taiwan		
11			Ilan	2 siblings	
12		O.P.	Taiwan	2 siblings	

Note: Text *Kavalan 1* is a creation myth and is therefore intentionally omitted from the present discussion.

a Text 4 describes multiple incursions by immigrants to Taiwan who migrated on numerous vessels.

b The Cause "O.P." indicates Over Population (or the desire to seek out available farmland) was a root cause that prompted the ancestors to leave their original home and migrate to Taiwan.

(MacKay, 1885, p. 95) and this was supported in interviews a century later in the 1980s. "Long ago we Kvalan are said to have come to Taiwan in this way. It is said that we (formerly) lived in the Philippines" (Shimizu, 1998, p. 264).

Also in the 1890s, ethnologist Ino Kanori 伊能嘉矩 (1867–1925) recorded Kavalan oral traditions which assert that the ancestors traveled to Taiwan from overseas by drifting in boats. His findings were published in *Things about Taiwanese Savages* 台灣蕃人事情 (1900). Some relevant texts from that work have been included herein as they are presented in Pu's *Literary History of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples.* The Dimei Village chief informed Ino Kanori that the Kavalan ancestors were called *Avan* or *Aban*, and that they originated overseas in a place called *Mariryan* (Pu, 2012, p. 40 & MOC-Kavalan). Others say that the first Kavalan drifted to Yilan from Snasay (Shimizu, 1998, p. 201 & 282). Regardless, of the 12 origin texts attributed to the Kavalan tribe herein, all but one hinge on the drift motif and identify Taiwan as a point of disembarkation.

In 1978, Paul Li recorded the Kavalan origin text which begins:

> I shall talk about the ancient Kavalan ancestors. The ancestors were born on Sinasay. No one knows where Sinasay was. There were four siblings … They made a boat. When they complete it, they sailed to the north. Finally, they arrived at Yilan. (Li & Tsuchida, 2006, p. 45–46)

These findings are supported by the ROC's Ministry of Culture which states that "Today, most researchers agree that the ancestors of the Kavalan originally came from the Polynesian Archipelago, and drifting on the ocean in their boats eventually landed on the Lanyang coast (after a stopover on Sanasay)" (MOC-Kavalan). Moreover, it is prudent to note that oral literary influences from 1600s integration with islanders from the south could be a factor in Kavalan oral literature as "probably the Spaniards hired many people from the Philippines or even from Indonesia for oarsmen, and most likely they settled down among the Kavalan people and influenced Kavalan (linguistically) to some extent" (Tsuchida, 2006, p. 592). Ferrell notes that Kavalan "oral traditions vary considerably, some saying that two brothers, other saying that several people, either left their over-crowded former homeland in search of new land, or were carried involuntarily to Taiwan by stormy seas" (Ferrell, 1969, p. 53).

The most unique drift origin narrative is reported by Shimizu. While all of the other texts describe migrants who came in a single trip, this text records multiple waves of migration to Taiwan from a single overseas location called Sunasay which is believed to have been in The Philippines.

> … It is said that we formerly lived in the Philippines … "Ah, because so many of us live here, let's get on a boat and go fishing," they said. "Let's fish," they

> said, in no time four men set out fishing … they were suddenly blown off course by the wind … They arrived here and saw this Taiwan. "Ah, this is great, let's settle here," said the four men it is said … After three days, no, on the fourth day, they returned … "Let's go and live at our place over there," said the men to their wives. "If we move over there in future, when will we come back here?" "No, we are not returning, we'll live in Taiwan forever." They said, it is said … (Some time passed) … In a short while the men went once again to the Philippines to fish, "The island over there is good … but our island is not good. Let's go to our place over there. The men, the four men said. Therefore, "Shall we go over there?" they asked. This time, all of them came over. Some of them came over as couples, the whole household, father, mother, all seem to have come. His relatives, his father, his mother, all came over, on this day, all of them came over it is said. "Ah, what a good place." In a twinkle, the story went round to all the people in Sunasay and therefore, "Ah, let's go over there, if we go, it will be good." They said, it is said. In this way these people came over from the Philippines, it is said. And we Kavalan became inhabitants of Taiwan. (Shimizu, 1998, p. 264–280)

5 Ketagalan Drift

The Ketagalan drift origin myths reveal that the Tribe's ancestors drifted to Taiwan from *Shan-Shi*, a cognate of *Sanasay*. According to the myth, an elder promised to heaven that he would give his daughter's hand in marriage to anyone who could cure his daughter's leprosy. When his daughter was cured by a dog who licked her wounds, the elder reluctantly bestowed his daughter to the dog and cast them both adrift in a boat. After traversing the sea, they disembarked on the island of Taiwan and their descendants, i.e., of the dog and the girl, founded the Ketagalan village known as Kimpaoli (Ho, 1967, p. 257).

An alternate Ketagalan drift origin text mirrors the Hoanya drift myth and claims that the ancestors fled Sansai because they were under attack by a Sansiyao monster:

> Our ancestors lived in Sansai before but the monster Sansiyao appeared and attacked tribal people. They sailed across the sea by bamboo rafts and arrived at an island. They landed happily and established tribes there. (Pu, 2012, p. 39)

5.1 *†Liulang Drift*

The historical homeland of the Liulang tribe is on the northwestern coast of Taiwan to the north of the Taokas territories and to the southwest of the

Ketagalan range. While it is accepted that their language, Kulon, was distinct from that spoken by the Ketagalan, little else is known about the Liulang language or the myths that it preserved, with one exception:

> Our only knowledge of Liulang traditions, gained around the turn of the present century from their thoroughly Sinicized descendants, shows that the tradition of overseas origin had apparently been taken over by the Liulang as well, even the name of the overseas land of origin being given as the same as among the Ketangalan and Kuvalan (Sanasai). (Ferrell, 1966b, p. 185)

It is also noteworthy that Ferrell records Tatun Mountain in Taipei as the sacred "home of the spirits of the dead" for the Taokas tribe (Ferrell, 1966b, p. 180) which indicates a possible, albeit unconfirmed, place of origin for that tribe. Of further interest, Ferrell remarks that Tatun Mountain is "not a locus within their historical territory … (which) might well indicate that they had in fact earlier lived in that region" (Ferrell, 1966b, p. 186).

6 Makatao Drift

The remnants of the once influential Makatao tribe live in Kaohsiung's Taishan Village and various villages throughout Pingtung's Hungchun area in Taiwan's extreme south. Referred to in VOC documents as *Mattouw*, the tribe was brutally subjugated by a force of seven companies of Dutch soldiers on November 23, 1635 according to the Day Records of Missive Governor Hans Putmans who was stationed at Tayouan (Blusse & Everts, 2000, p. 11). The VOC campaign required over six years of strategizing and coordination with the already allied Sincandian tribe before it was executed.

The sole origin myth known among the Makatao explains the relationship between the tribe and its totem animal, the Gray-Faced Buzzard. This oral tradition chronicles the shared ancestry between the Makatao and the buzzards which they affectionately refer to as "the birds behind the mountain" (Lin, 1994, p. 144).

> A long time ago, the Makatao ancestors lived in Vietnam. The wind brought the ancestors from the South Sea to Taiwan. Boats were wrecked in Taiwan. When everybody climbed to the island, Paiwan killed all the males. The females were forced to be wives and could not leave because of having no boats.
>
> Their relatives who lived in Vietnam were very anxious. They commanded the birds behind the mountain to look. These birds leave in

> the springtime toward the north. When they found these females, they stopped on top of the roof of the kitchen. However, these women could not escape. They could only ask their children to come to the kitchen, and told them stories of the ancestors. They also reminded their children that the Birds Behind the Mountain were their relatives and that they must not harm them. (Lin, 1996, p. 144)

No other tribe in Taiwan claims any affiliation or kinship with the Vietnamese or any other continental-dwelling people. Rather, those other Taiwanese tribes that subscribe to a drift origin narrative generally assert that the original habitation of their (non-biracial) ancestors was upon an island, usually alluded to or explicitly named *Sanasai*.

7 Paiwan Drift

A solitary Paiwan drift origin myth is orally transmitted among the Kunaljau Paiwan. It is said that the tribe's ancestors originated on a small island called Marairai (Sanasay?) to the southeast. Life on Marairai was prosperous until one day evil spirits began to haunt the island. A boy devised a method for fighting the demons with fire. However, the demons were too strong, and led to a diaspora from Marairai on wooden rafts. They drifted to Kaohsiung's Hsiatanshui River (MOC-Paiwan).

8 Puyuma Drift

While the genesis origin motif is most widely distributed among the Puyuma phratries, a drift origin myth was one of the first origin myths to be chronicled from among the Puyuma. In the 1880s, George Taylor recorded that his Puyuma informants "claim to have come from some other country, hundreds of years ago" (Taylor, 1886, p. 77). Three years later, in 1889, Taylor recorded that the Puyuma drift origin myth was so piously venerated that anyone, even government officials, who violated the taboo of cutting bamboo in the area where the ancestors landed after drifting to the island of Taiwan would be marked for death:

> They have distinct traditions of their having come from some other land, and speak of an immigration of several families forming a small community ... The creek, now hardly distinguishable, is pointed out where the

> first families landed, and the locality where the first houses were built is held sacred. Even the bamboo fencing still grows around the little green plots, which show among the trees, covering the gentle slope of the hill. The place is much revered, and annual sacrifices are offered up here on the sites of their ancestors' homes. No one is allowed to cut wood or fire a gun near the place, and the Chinese officials have upheld this rule. Several Chinese who have attempted to cut wood have been struck dead, by the spirits say the Tipuns, but shot down by the savages would be nearer the truth. (Taylor, 1889, p. 228)

This reference to ritualistic annual sacrifices and the death curse for anyone who dares violate the taboos associated with the location where the ancestors disembarked after drifting to Taiwan is noteworthy due to its anomalous nature.

Two complete narrative texts support a drift origin for the ancestors of the Puyuma. Upon reexamination of the following origin text that the author previously classified as a deluge text, it has become apparent that it may potentially refer to a primary anthropogonic drift origin of the Puyuma:

> Long ago, Nunur, borne by the waves, was washed up on the coast where there was an arenui, that is the story. He clung onto it, and, using all his strength, climbed up on to the beach. He used that arenui as a walking stick and then planted it. It grew into a bamboo and then it burst. A woman, Pagemuser, and a man, Pakmalai, came out of it. This brother and sister got married … A deformed being, half-man, half-stone, was born … .Then the elder (Nunur) said, 'You cannot abandon your child like this, but you must take him into your house.' Thus spake the elder, who immediately changed into a stone … They took the stone, and it broke. Out of it came the Amis, the Paiwan and all the others. (Cauquelin, 2004, p. 28)

An alternate Puyuma origin myth claims that their ancestors migrated to Taiwan from islands to the south. The original ancestors are said to have called themselves *Irur*, meaning "fish." Adulumaw and his wife Adulusaw were saved by the Orchid Islanders but being unable to adapt to life on the islet, the couple sailed north (possibly from or via Sanasay), until they finally reached Taiwan (Tien, 2003, p. 93 & Winkler, 2016, Bk. 2, p. 17–25). Since the words *Nunur* and *Irur* share linguistic similarities, it is possible that these texts refer to a common shared oral history.

9 Rukai Drift

Only one drift origin text is found among the Rukai phratries. It is said that the Tehlumake phratry believes that their ancestors drifted across the sea and disembarked on the east coast of Taiwan (MOC-Rukai).

FIGURE 14 "The Sea Winds" – Formosan drift origin sculpture. Original caption at exhibition reads: "Approximately 6,000 years ago, the makers of the Cord-Marked Pottery Culture set out from the beaches of their homelands, and riding the winds, they sailed off into the vast ocean. By knowing their direction from the stars, they conquered the stormy seas, violently surging beyond imagination, and reached the island so unbelievably far away. How they were able to reach Taiwan unfolded in a great tale illustrating the fearlessness of human beings." Medium: wood. PHOTO BY AUTHOR, JUNE 24, 2023 AT NATIONAL MUSEUM OF PREHISTORY 國立臺灣史前文化博物館 IN TAITUNG

10 Saisiyat Drift

While most Saisiyat phratries believe that mankind was created by the gods, some phratries adhere to the belief that the first Saisiyat ancestors drifted to Taiwan from overseas. It is said that these first people took up residence at the Daaikou area of Hsinchu (Tien, 2013, p. 58). Since neither narrative asserts a location of creation or drift origin, these two narratives which simply state "the ancestors came from drifting overseas" (Tien, 2013, p. 59) are not mutually exclusive. So, it is likely that these two narratives are actually both fragments of a single tradition.

11 Sakizaya Drift

At least three Sakizaya myths from the Kasyusyuan and the Sakul phratries preserve oral traditions about the ancestors arriving in Taiwan after drifting from overseas. Disputing the western Taiwan emigration theory, the Kasyusyuan say that "siblings (a brother and a sister) floated to Taiwan in a canoe and landed ashore in Yanliao, Hualien. They looked around and saw no one else." (Tien, 2019, p. 24). The Sakul contend that "Trees once rescued the Sakizaya people. The legendary ancestors of the sisters took wooden boats to fish. When they encountered a typhoon, they drifted to Taiwan on the sea" (Tien, 2019, p. 146). Still, an alternate version of the drift origin myth claims that the Sakizaya ancestors of the Ciwidian phratry, siblings who drifted to Taiwan, originated on a coconut tree covered island called Sanasai in the south (Tsai, 2005, p. 18).

12 Siraya Drift

Notwithstanding the limitations described above in accessing Siraya origin texts, in addition to Candidus's writings on the creator god Tamagisanhach, some oral traditions were recorded in the 20th century alluding to a drift origin. These myths indicate that the ancestors of the Siraya sailed to the island of Taiwan from overseas with the guidance of the *alid*, "the divine or ancestral souls" (Tenn, 2017, p. 61–62). The Siraya drift origin myth includes specific mention of a boat with sails. In a possible reference to St. Elmo's fire, during the ocean voyage, it is said that words miraculously appeared on the sail of the Siraya boat. These words were interpreted as an auspicious omen prior to

the tribe's disembarkation at Sann-guo-kah, Hoan-a-un and Tak-ka as accounts vary (Tenn, 2017, p. 161).

13 Trobiawan Drift

Even though the Trobiawan language "became virtually extinct by the turn of the 20th century" (Li, 2014, p. 1), as many as nine Trobiawan Basay origin myths were recorded and published between 1909 and 1976 (Zhan, 1995, p. 58). Of these, seven texts reference the place of origin as an overseas island known as Sanasay. While the texts themselves do not identify the exact location of Sanasay, it is said to be located somewhere to the south or southeast.

Following is one of the more representative of the Sanasay origin drift texts chronicled by Zhan:

> In the past, on an island called Sanasay, there lived three siblings. The eldest brother was Ti-lono-kua. The young brother was Ti-zawai-kua. The sister was Ti-abas-kuo. They traveled to the Yilan Plain by boat. There was a dispute over the land and the younger sister was pushed into the mountains. They are the ancestors of the Atayal and the Kavalan. The Trobiawan tribe are the descendants of the younger sister who came down from the mountains and lived at Tukidis. (Zhan, 1995, p. 58)

The two texts of the nine that omit any mention of Sanasay nevertheless both chronicle ocean journeys that ferried the ancestors of the tribes northward from more southernly locations off the east coast of Taiwan.

14 Truku Drift

Reminiscent of the Ketagalan drift origin myth, one Truku origin myth is predicated on the birth of a deformed maiden. This text is an outlier among the Truku traditions as most Truku phratries ascribe to a genesis origin. While early reports by Japanese anthropologists claimed that Truku children who were born deformed were subject to infanticide, later fieldwork in the late 1970s found no evidence of this practice (Kim, 1980, p. 268). Subsequent modern fieldwork reports that "When a baby is born disabled, his parents will say that '*snliqan utux*' (god made him handicapped)" (Wang, 2008, p. 24) indicating

an acceptance, rather than outright rejection, of deformed babies as the creations of God. However, based on the overwhelming volume of reports from numerous early ethnological reports, it is clear that infanticide in the case of deformed infants and twins was traditionally practiced across many if not all of Taiwan's tribes prior to the influence of Christianity which became widespread in the 1950s.

With this in mind, one Truku text claims that a chief was so humiliated by his deformed daughter that he set her adrift in the sea with a dog. This text bears similarities to the Ketagalan drift origin text.

> He gave much treasure to her and put her and a dog in a boat and set them adrift on the sea. The boat arrived at the beach of Taroko after several days adrift. They landed there and found a place to settle … She married the dog and from them the Taroko people descended. (Ho, 1967, p. 256–257)

15 Yami/Tao Drift

The Yayo genesis/creation myth indicates that the protoplast emerged from a stone in an unknown locale away from Orchid Island. While residing overseas, an interdiction was established against eating a certain species of fruit which grew in the garden there. However, some children ate the forbidden fruit which made their legs pregnant and rendered them temporarily mute. Once their father realized what they had done, he interned them within wooden chests and cast them adrift upon the sea with the imprecation "You stay far away from me, because the excrement of Lovolovoin (messenger of the gods) will spray you!" (Benedek, 1991, p. 325). At Tabedeh Beach, Yayo on Orchid Island they ran aground and were delivered of their pregnancies, after which they regained the power of speech and grew in number (Benedek, 1991, p. 325–326). Different adaptations of this myth indicate that some of the chests floated to other areas on Orchid Island including Liyos in Iratay, Jichabaw at Iraralay, and Jimasapaw (Liu, 1980, p. 114–169).

Another Tao myth recalls that the protoplasts came from overseas in a strange boat that was in the shape of the letter U (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 3, p. 19). However, these ignorant and magical settlers, who were known as si Paloy, si Ozamen and si Pacilalaw (among others) (Rau, 2005), destroyed the ecosystem of the island causing the birds to grow silent after which, the deluge destroyed them all (Winkler, 2016, Bk. 3, p. 18–36). Interestingly, this is the sole drift origin myth that extends into the age of the deluge.

The fifth and final Tao drift origin myth is summarized as follows:

> Their traditions tell of the arrival of strangers driven there by storm from the islands which they call "Ibatan" and "Ikubarat." They also declare that in ancient times a man and woman gave birth to many children. The father died in early life, and the mother was stolen by the natives of "Ibatan" island and carried away never to return. The children, however, grew up and prospered, and now inhabit the village of Irarai on the north west coast. (Davidson, 1903, p. 590)

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

The principal obstacle in comparing the findings of the present study with those propounded by previous researchers lies in the manner in which the subject texts are classified. With particular regard for the placement of the primary anthropogonic myths within primeval myth-time chronology (Figure 1) the present study clearly bifurcates the mythologems of antediluvian origins from those of postdiluvian origins, a distinction previously unexplored by any researcher of Formosan mythology. As such, the findings of the present study, which examine a previously neglected dimension, offer novel revelations on the origins of man as they have been understood by the speakers of Formosan languages for eons.

The Formosan primary anthropogonic myths chronicle the origins of mankind through a tremendous variety of motifs. Formosan oral histories of man's origins as a result of willful creation, spontaneous genesis and overseas diaspora reminiscent of that associated with Atlantis have been transmitted down the countless generations since time immemorial. These "truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past" (Bascom, 1965, p. 4) are exemplary windows into the cultures and value systems from which they originate.

A total of 255 Formosan primary anthropogonic myths, including 50 drift origin texts, from 23 tribes are included in the present disquisition. Of these, 103 texts were translated from German (11) and Mandarin (92) making the current work, the most extensive and comprehensive collection of its kind ever published. This corpus and the accompanying analysis also reveal the existence of 129 creation origin texts and 74 genesis origin texts within the Formosan anthropogonic record. The umbrella term *creation origin* includes beings that emerged from cosmic vessels, were the product of animal transformation, came into existence with the assistance of an animal intermediary and many others as detailed in Chapter 3. Genesis origin texts were restricted to those describing beings that emerged from non-cosmic or earthbound vessels such as stones, trees, feces, bamboo, smoke and chthonic matrices. These findings illustrate that the frequency of creation myths surmounts the pervasiveness of genesis texts within the Formosan primary anthropogonic myth context while leaving some space for drift origin narratives. Nevertheless, a tribe-level examination of the data reveals that while the majority of Amis, Paiwan, Pazeh, Rukai, Saisiyat, Sakizaya and Tsou texts adhere to a creation origin motif, the genesis origin motif is more heavily favored by the Atayal, Seediq and Truku

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tribes. Bunun, Kanakanavu, Puyuma and Tao oral histories were nearly equally divided between the two motifs. Additionally, drift origin motifs represented the majority of Hoanya, Kavalan, Ketagalan, Liulang, Makatao, Siraya and Trobiawan myths. Moreover, these findings indicate that Amis, Kavalan, Ketagalan, Liulang, Paiwan, Puyuma, Sakizaya and Trobiawan oral histories incorporate the Sanasay drift origin motif.

TABLE 29 Primary anthropogonic motif distribution by tribe

Tribe	Creation	Genesis	Drift	Cosmogonic	Totals
Amis	14	5	7	*2*	26
Atayal	8	13			21
Bunun	13	10	1	*1*	24
Favorlang	1				1
Hla'alua					*
Hoanya			1		
Kanakanavu	2	1		*1*	3
Kavalan	1		11		12
Ketagalan			2		2
Liulang (Kulon)			1		1
Makatao			1		1
Paiwan	37	10	1	*3*	48
Pazeh (Kaxabu)	6			*1*	6
Puyuma	6	7	2	*1*	15
Rukai	12	7	1	*3*	20
Saisiyat	4		2		6
Sakizaya	4	1	3		8
Seediq	2	13			14
Siraya	1		2		3
Tao (Yami)	7		5	*4*	15
Thao					*
Trobiawan			9		9
Truku		7	1	*1*	8
Tsou	11				11
Total	**129**	**74**	**50**	***17***	**255**

Note: With the exception of Cosmogonic myths which often appear as fragments that support origin texts, only one motif is allotted to each text. As such, the total number of motifs equals the total number of texts found by the researcher.

1 Through the Origin Myth Lens

An enhanced understanding and appreciation for any given tribe's sacred origin myths elucidates insights into that tribe's historical cultural values. Knowing a tribe's universally endorsed doctrine pertaining to the origins of man, illuminates that tribe's culturally relevant values attributed to human life, among other things.

Modern visitors to Taiwan who are fortunate enough to interact with aboriginal people who make up approximately 2% of the Island's total population, may find it difficult to envisage how the ancestors of these gregarious and welcoming peoples could have engaged in brutal ritualized headhunting and even cannibalism to the extent that certain tribes "mixed the brains of their enemies with wine, and drank the disgusting mixture" (Pickering, 1889, p. 153) and consumed "handfuls of (human) beef and meat-bones, which they were chewing with great apparent relish" (Campbell, 1915, p. 121) into the early-modern era.

While some phratries historically venerated orthodoxies attributing the creation of man to the gods, other groups traditionally believed that man's origin was exceedingly humble. Faith in man's spontaneous bursting forth from pig, spider, dog or worm feces or even the white mold that grows upon said feces was historically held by the Atayal, Truku and especially, Bunun tribes. When examined through a lens of these sacred feces genesis origin myths, it is clear that the parameters regarding how a man's life should be valued and treated must have been significantly influenced by the origin narratives. Even within the context of *total war* as it was described by Erich Ludendorff, that consumed much of the island of Taiwan from the dawn of time until the 1930s, the ritualized hunting and slaughtering of beings which had descended from those who were created in the sky by the gods and sent to Earth within cosmic vessels cannot be on par with the hunting, slaughtering and decapitating of those who are dogmatically regarded as the products of spontaneous fecal mold genesis. The values attributed to beings from these diametrically opposed belief systems could not be more dissimilar from each other.

> In Total War … the war zone covers in the true sense of the word the entire territory of those engaged in war. Not only the armies, the people themselves are subject to the direct operations of war. (Ludendorff, 1936, p. 5)

Understanding a tribe's 'culturally relevant values attributed to human life' is immensely more nuanced and complicated than a strict reading of human origin myths. While seeing through the lens of the origin myth opens a window

into the tribe's historical and modern value of human life, it is but one pane of illumination within a skyscraper of such metaphorical windows.

Few nations are pius enough, especially in times of total war to reflect on the origins of man and the roles of deities in those origins when evaluating the merits of preserving the life of an enemy. It is for reasons related to this that there is no example of a surviving dominant culture in the world that can attest to faithfully adhering to such necessarily pacifist practices.

A quintessential example of outcomes for a group that is dogmatically dedicated to pacifism based (at least in part) on origin myths is illustrated in Count and Nobel Prize winner Leo Tolstoy's masterpiece *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (1894). Therein, Tolstoy admonishes Christians to internalize and practice Christ's pacifist teachings memorialized in the *Sermon on the Mount* and reject all forms of violence regardless of outcomes for practitioners. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn attests to the potency of Tolstoy's exhortations in *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973) wherein he substantiates not only that Tolstoy initiated a socio-religious awakening and movement through his opus, but also how that movement was identified and subsequently dealt with by Soviet authorities. By referencing Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's essay on *How to Organize the Competition* (1918) in which Lenin outlines his goal to "purge the Russian land of all kinds of harmful insects," Solzhenitsyn chronicles the fate of one breed of said "insects" which he dubs "Tolstoyans":

> In the twenties, a large group of Tolstoyans was exiled to the foothills of the Altai and there they established communal settlements jointly with the Baptists. When the construction of the Kuznetsk industrial complex began, they supplied it with food products. Then arrests began—first the teachers (they were not teaching in accordance with the government programs), and the children ran after the cars, shouting. And after that the commune leaders were taken. (Solzhenitsyn, 1973, p. 51)
>
> (Soviet authorities) burned out whole nests, whole families, from the start; and they watched jealously to be sure that none of the children—fourteen, ten, even six years old—got away: to the last scrapings, all had to go down the same road, to the same common destruction. (Solzhenitsyn, 1973, p. 55)

Alas, such 'destruction' is the logical (and historically time-tested) outcome for pacifists, individually or as nations, or those who would prioritize their 'culturally relevant values attributed to human life' over all other factors. In understanding 'how the ancestors of Taiwan's gregarious and welcoming aboriginals could have engaged in brutal ritualized headhunting and even cannibalism,'

Solzhenitsyn's observations on Soviet practices make clear that such questions must be applied to all mankind, regardless of origin. Clearly, as a prerequisite to survival, dogmatic values regarding human life cannot be adhered to based solely on a cyclopean gaze through the lens of the origin myth.

This scrutiny notwithstanding, origin myths also provide context regarding historical understandings of outsiders. Among the Bunun tribe, it has been …

> suggested that during the min-pakaliva (*the myth period*) the distinction between humans and natural beings was not clear. Humans cohabitated with animals and they could communicate with each other. At that time, the term bunun was the terminology reserved for the natural beings we called humans today. After the primordial flood, humans left the mountains and migrated down to different places. It was the time when distinct, named groups evolved. Since then, to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups, the Bunun have called themselves bunun tuza, or the 'true humans.' (Fang, 2016, p. 38–39)

Likewise, the "Atayal believed themselves to be the only perfect people in the world and call foreigners *Yugai* (yungay) or monkeys" (Ishii, 1917, p. 116). This conviction that one's own tribe was *truly* human rather than simian or otherwise was likely globally universal at certain junctions in the past. Evidence for this likelihood is observed in the etymologies for the Formosan ethnonyms, all of which, with the exception of the Puyuma and Saisiyat are said to denote "people" or "humans." The implication is explicitly stated above with regard to Bunun and Atayal traditional outlooks on outsiders. That being said, all of Taiwan's tribes engaged in ritualized headhunting with the exception of the Tao inhabitants of Orchid Island.

2 Motives for the Creation of Man

While the majority of the Formosan primary anthropogonic myths fail to account for the *motivations* of the gods in the creation of mankind, some Kanakanavu, Paiwan and Rukai texts indicate that the gods created man specifically in order to alleviate themselves from the burdens of life which they found too toilsome. These texts claim that the gods created man to make their own existence less tough, lonely, and sad.

A Kanakanavu myth shows that the creation of man was intended to be a solution to a number of dilemmas facing the primordial gods. Life for the immortals was too *tough* and *lonely*, and this caused the mother goddess in

particular to complain to her son Parumaci. The goddess "Niun often sighed in front of Parumaci, *complaining* about how *hard* life was" (CIP-Kanakanavu). In desperation and intent on appeasing his distraught and exhausted mother, Parumaci fulfilled his promise to provide a happy future for his mother Niun by creating mankind en masse as a workforce intended to alleviate his mother's travail. Then, after creating "hundreds of men … Parumaci became their chief" dwelling amongst his creation and functioning as their leader for his mother's sake (CIP-Kanakanavu).

It is significant that at least one Paiwan myth bears marked similarities to the Kanakanavu myth of Parumaci and Niun. In this Paiwan text, two gods, a father called Kulelelele and his son called Pulelelelengan occupied the world above. They created the Earth and everything in it in order to overcome their loneliness. Then Kulelelele dispatched Pulelelelengan to Earth to teach mankind "and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father." Critically, Pulelelelengan was forbade by Kulelelele from remaining on the Earth for a period in excess of 30 days, (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430), an interdiction which was uncharacteristically not violated.

The Rukai myth chronicling the story of a goddess called Mwakakay is also remarkable. Mwakakay was terribly illtreated by her mother who spitefully fed her dumplings filled with cockroach feces and forced Mwakakay to toil in the fields naked and alone during storms. Exhausted and intent on escaping her malicious mother, Mwakakay fled her home and created mankind through the recitation of incantations. Motivated by loneliness and desire for amicable camaraderie she transformed betelnuts into an entire village of people after singing enough homes into existence (Li, 1975, p. 59).

The motif of the gods creating man as a means to overcoming the burdens, loneliness and unhappiness of life is also found in the Sumerian myth of the gods Enki and Ninmah. Popularized by Zecharia Sitchin's translation that claimed "On Earth the Anunnaki toiled, of work and sustenance they were complaining" (Sitchin, 2004, p. 88) which caused the Anunnaki gods to create man as a "primitive worker" that became a slave caste of the gods, the Sumerian creation myth bears a number of striking similarities to the Kanakanavu creation myth. Other translations concur that the gods the primeval mother goddess, Ninmah, ordered her son Enki to "create a substitute for the gods so that they can be freed from their toil" (Enki and Ninmah: 1–37) (Black, Cunningham, Fluckiger-Hawker, Robson, & Zolymi, 2022). The myth of Ninmah and Enki states that man was created from clay in order to work for the gods.

In both the Kanakanavu and the Sumerian texts, a god created mankind as a result of complaints from his mother. Also, in both oral traditions, the chronology commences with the complaints of the mother goddesses regarding the

toughness and difficulties of life. Even the names of the gods bear phonological similarities; **Niun** and **Nin**mah as well as Paru**maci** and **Enki**. Both myths describe the creation of mankind en masse and the post creation dominion of the gods over man. The only material difference between the Kanakanavu and the Sumerian myths is that Parumaci created mankind from leaves that grew on trees rooted in clay while Enki created mankind directly from clay.

The sixth tablet of the Enuma Elish chronicles that the god Marduk created man in order to serve and worship the gods. Moreover, this motif of the creation of man in order to serve the gods is echoed in the Biblical book of *Genesis* which states that "the Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden *to tend and keep it*" (Genesis 2:15). It is remarkable and potentially extremely significant that God's motivation in creating Adam, that is, to tend and keep Eden, is mirrored in these Kanakanavu, Paiwan and Rukai texts which bare no evidence of ecclesiastical influence.

3 Creation en Masse

The motif of creation en masse serves an essential function within the origin of man mythologem. The most consequential characteristic of creation en masse is that the contemporaneous existence of multiple humans eliminates the requirement for incest which is an otherwise obligatory requisite across primary and secondary anthropogonic myths. Myths ascribing mankind's origin to a single progenitor or a progenitor couple, make evident that the earliest generations were, whether by implication or by explicit recitations, incestuous.

The motif of the creation of man en masse among Formosan myths is distributed throughout the Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tao and Tsou traditions. These creation en masse oral texts incorporate genesis or creation en masse from (sometimes cosmic) stone, leaf, egg, stick, fruit, bamboo, song, incantation, god and dog ancestor motifs.

Notably, the Takivatan Bunun myth speaks of five male gods who fell from heaven specifically in order to breed with the women of Earth. "In the beginning, there were seven women at Ramogan. Five men fell from the sky. They gave birth to the ancestors" (Hsu, 1956, p. 159). Since the explicit outcome of this incursion into the Earthly realm resulted in the concurrent birth of multiple protoplasts, it qualifies as an en masse creation.

The Takivatan Bunun myth also shares very specific motifs with Biblical and apocryphal creation texts. *Genesis* as well as the *Book of the Watchers* (both Chapter 6) tells us that the *sons of God*, also known as Watcher Angels, fell from heaven to take human wives which resulted in the birth of a novel life

form. The human-angel hybrids came to be known as mighty men, giants and Nephilim.

> And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose … There were giants (Nephilim) in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. (Genesis 6:1, 2 & 4)

The events that unfolded with regard to the mixing of angels and humans and the violence perpetuated by their offspring, the Nephilim, is covered in great detail in the second *Book of Enoch*.

Other Bunun texts provide further context to the creation en masse motif saying that a creature with wings descended to Earth from the sun and bore many children (Ou, 2017, p. 25) and that "The first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky" (De Busser, 2009, p. 630).

Another prodigious creation en masse myth is told among the Tao. This text indicates that multiple protoplasts emerged from stones which were incubated within the armpits of two goddesses. After removing the stones from their armpits, the goddesses baptized the stones in spring water causing them to split asunder, thus giving birth to mankind (Hsu, 1956, p. 168).

In the Tsou myths, the gods Hamo, Ninewu and Uimunu are all individually credited with the creation of man en masse. The god Hamo, who appears in the form of a giant man (Yyuvana, 2024), grew mankind from seeds. The duality known as Ninewu, transformed falling leaves into men. Finally, Uimunu employed an unspecified method to create man. While specific rationale is not provided for the creation of man in the Tsou myths, the motif of creation en masse is noteworthy.

TABLE 30 Creation en masse

Tribe	**Loci of origin**	**Source**
Atayal	Split stone	Rau, 1992, 243
Bunun	Split stone	Ho, 1967, p. 239; Ou, 2017, p. 25
Kanakanavu	Transformed leaves	CIP-Kanakanavu

TABLE 30 Creation en masse (*cont.*)

Tribe	Loci of origin	Source
Paiwan	Singing	Pu, 2012, p. 23 & p. 24
	Eggs	Ho, 1967, p. 243
	Cosmic stones	Pu, 2012, p. 23–24
	Girl + Dog	Egli, 1989, p. 28–29
	Bamboo split	Hsu, 1956, p. 163; Lai, 2010, p. 25
	Serpents	Pu, 2012, p. 26; Hsu, 1956, p. 163
Puyuma	Stick	Cauquelin, 2004, p. 29
Rukai	Singing/Incantations	Pu, 2012, p. 20; Li, 1975, p. 50–71
Saisiyat	Created by god	Tien, 2013, p. 59
Seediq	Girl + Dog	Liu, 2018, p. 13
Tao	Stones in goddess's armpits	Hsu, 1956, p. 168
Tsou	Transformed fruit/leaves	Pu, 2012, p. 35

4 Seeds of Men

According to the Zoroastrian genesis text, the *Zend Avesta*, the creator god Ahura Mazda commanded the progenitor, Yima, to "bring the *seeds* of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest kinds on this earth" (Ch. 2, 35:106) into an underground city called *Vara* to survive a destructive and dire winter which claimed the life of every creature on the surface of the Earth. Though this extinction level event is perhaps more akin to a deluge than primary anthropogonic narrative, and therefore more proximal to a secondary anthropogonic narrative, the motif of protoplasts that are grown from seeds is noteworthy.

The *Zend Avesta* states that the first human couple grew from the seeds deposited in Vara.

The chthonic origin motif of man being grown from seeds planted in the Earth is shared by the Tsou myth of Hamo. "Once long ago the great god Hamo came down to Earth and planted men. What he planted grew from the Earth into the ancestors of the people of today" (Ferrell, 1966a, p. 172–173). Whether these seeds are interpreted as cosmic vessels, instruments/objects of transformation or simply invocations of a chthonic motif, this Tsou text clearly attributes the origin of man to a willful act perpetrated by Hamo, who is "the most beloved god of the Tsou tribe" (yasiungu & Gauss, 2023).

5 Interdictions

The first commandment that God issued to Adam in the book of *Genesis*, regarded an interdiction of the consumption of a specific variety of fruit. "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Genesis 2:16–17). Inevitably, Adam and Eve violated God's interdiction and were subsequently banished from Eden and cursed to die. They were also made aware of their nakedness which they were ashamed of and so were given animal skins by God as coverings.

In much the same manner, the Tao myths state that in the beginning the grandchildren of the protoplasts ate the forbidden fruit of the kira tree so the god Ibago said "Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame" (Del Re, 1951, p. 46). Those who ate the fruit were cast into the underworld where they began to wear clothing.

Another Tao myth corroborates aspects of Del Re's telling saying that the grandchildren of the protoplasts were told not to eat the fruits kalelenden and pali. But, when they inevitably did eat the forbidden fruit, they lost the power of speech, their bodies were marked and, as a punishment for their shame, the children were cast adrift upon maritime waves in chests (Benedek, 1991, p. 324–326).

In both the Biblical and the Tao narratives, an interdiction was violated regarding the consumption of fruit which incurred divine punishment. The transgressors,' the protoplasts, punishments included becoming aware that nakedness is shameful thus necessitating clothing and being banished from the original habitation. Moreover, according to the apocryphal book *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan,* Adam and Eve were guided to the Cave of Treasures where they

lived out their lives underground. The motif of a Chthonic punishment is also found in the Tao version told by Del Re which saw the transgressors cast into a hole in the ground.

> … he (the god Ibago) made a hole in the earth and cast them into it. From that day they, who had not known shame and went about naked, began to cover their genitals with strips of tree fibre. (Del Re, 1951, p. 46)

Moreover, both versions reported by Benedek and Del Re report that the transgressors were physically marked as part of their punishment.

> Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame. (Del Re, 1951, p. 46)
>
> My child, this really looks as if you ate (the forbidden fruit) pali," his father (the god) said … (He) was ashamed, so he made a big wooden box and put his child into it. (Benedek, 1991, p. 324)

While the details don't align exactly, the motifs of protoplasts eating forbidden fruit and of being physically marked as punishment for transgression within the first or second generation of man is shared in the Biblical account of Cain, the son of Adam. Cain murdered his brother Abel, and part of his punishment was that he was marked by God. "And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him" (Genesis 4:15).

6 The Death Curse

According to the Biblical book of Genesis, God warned Adam not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil saying "for in the *day* that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Genesis 2:17). *2 Peter* contextualizes this by pointing out that "with the Lord one *day* is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one *day*" (2 Peter 3:8). As such, the author of book two of *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* reasons "inasmuch as one thousand years are as one day among heavenly witnesses, as it was written on the Tree of Knowledge that he should die on the day he ate of its fruit, Adam did not complete the day of one thousand years, by seventy years, but died on that same day." The third Chapter of Genesis tells us that Eve "took of its fruit and ate. She also gave to her husband with her and he ate" (Genesis 3:6). It was for this transgression that God death cursed Adam proclaiming "In the sweat of your face you shall

eat bread till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; For dust you are, and to dust you shall return" (Genesis 3:19). As such, it was God's original intent that Adam would retain access to the Tree of Life and never die but that this blueprint was abandoned when Adam was death cursed.

In the same way that the *Genesis* account of Adam includes the origin of death as a curse from God, one Atayal primary anthropogonic myth also chronicles the origin of death.

> … A male and female were born from the stone first. Then another person was born and said to the first-borns, "Please help me take a bath, and we will be immortal." The first-borns refused, so the younger one returned to the fissure of the huge stone and said, "You will suffer from aging, illness, and death from now on. (Pu, 2012, p. 133)

The Pulan Seediq narrative is similar to that of the Atayal. However, the third man's request for a bath is predicated on the genesis from pig feces:

> He asked if they would do him a favour by cleaning the pig excrement off his body, but they both refused. Before this man returned to the pig excrement he said, "If you had both helped me to clean the pig excrement off my body you wouldn't die but would just shed your skins to renew yourselves and become young again. But you refused to oblige me, so from now on you will begin to die." After saying that, the man re-entered the pile of pig excrement. (Chang, 2012, p. 256)

Consequently, it is the inaction of man that paved the way for the death curse.

A similar narrative is known amongst the Truku. This Truku text is set within the context of a superheated Earth that is menaced by the existence of multiple suns. This sets the stage for the Shooting the Sun narrative which represents an integral aspect of the Golden Age myths. However, rather than resulting in a death curse, the outcome of the events is the prolonged life of serpents.

> Once when there was still no man on earth, two women emerged from lumps of pig's excreta … there was another one from which emerged a snake … one of the women washed her body immediately. (She) became exposed to direct heat of the sun, she died on the spot … the second woman … asked the snake to clean her body … As the snake cleaned her very carefully and slowly, she could gradually adapt herself to the hot weather and thus survived. When she was asked by the snake to clean its body in turn, she replied, "if you clean your body using your own hands,

> you will certainly die immediately as the woman did. If I clean your body, then you will have only a limited life time as I will have. The best way to clean your body without using either your hands or mine. If you do this way, you can enjoy as long a life as you want." While the snake was contemplating this quandary for a long time, it saw a hole in the earth nearby. Out of curiosity, the snake crawled into the hole. Since the hole was small, the pig's dung on the snakes' body was rubbed off automatically as the snake went in and came out of the hole. That was how the snake solved the dilemma. From then on, snakes have been able to extend their lives as long as they want by changing their skin, while man has a limited lifetime. (Kim, 1980, p. 148–152)

In some versions of the Tsou creation by Nivnu texts, the first men were mortal. However, anyone who died could be resurrected by Nivnu. Then, one day, in Nivnu's absence, a god called Soesoha cried for a man who had died. After Soesoha's tears had fallen, Nivnu's capacity to resurrect the dead failed (Pu, 2012, p. 56).

Despite the fact that all three of these death curse narratives describe the origin of death as a consequence of actions or inactions that occurred shortly after creation, each version is unique in detail. However, it is relevant that in *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan,* Adam, in his regret for having violated God's interdiction and grief for having been cast out of Eden, committed suicide on more than one occasion only to be repeatedly resurrected by God. The resurrection of the dead motif in the first days is shared in the same narratives that describe the origins of death herein. In the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninmah, Ninmah likewise stated that "Man's body can be either good or bad and whether I make a fate good or bad depends on my will."

7 Cosmic Vessels in Formosan Creation Myths

Prior to 1953 when Donald Keyhoe coined and documented the term UFO (unidentified flying objects) (Admin, 2020), it was not uncommon for people to liken unrecognized objects that they saw in the sky to objects that they were familiar with. For many years, for example, UFOs were referred to as *flying saucers* because, it is reported that, they physically resemble saucers. In the *Bible*, the prophet Ezekiel described something that he witnessed as *a flying wheel within a wheel* (Ezekiel 1:16) and noted that, as in the Amis myth of the protoplasts who fell to Earth riding the lightning, "The living creatures ran back and forth, in appearance like a flash of lightning" (Ezekiel 1:14).

As is chronicled in Table 19, Formosan primary creation myths indicate that a variety of cosmic vessels descended from the sky carrying the first men. These cosmic vessels are described as lightning, plants, lilies, larva, insects, gourds, feces, sun eggs, moon eggs, fly eggs, stones, ceramic vessels, grass, seeds, bamboo, and even golden sedan chairs or ladders. Critically, all of these objects are said to have originated in the sky which indicates that they were flight-capable. These texts describe objects of non-terrestrial origin that were intentionally dispatched to Earth by the gods as transport vehicles. For example, one Bunun text simply states that "the first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky" (De Busser, 2009, p. 630).

The cosmic vessels were crafts capable of sustaining the lives of the protoplasts during their journeys from the sky as well as after they reached the Earth. One Paiwan text states that after bursting forth from a rock, the protoplasts Rarigimu "drank the sweat of the rock" (Pu, 2012, p. 25).

Some of the vessels formed multiple male and female dyads of prototype humans. One Paiwan text states that a stock of bamboo placed on the Earth by a god gave birth to three sets of beings over the course of three years. The first and second sets which were created in the first and second year appeared human but lacked body parts such as eyes and were mute. It wasn't until the third set was created in the third year that fully formed people emerged from the bamboo, married each other, and multiplied (Egli, 1989, p. 32). After having successfully conceived children, the protoplasts no longer had any need of the cosmic vessels, and further mentions of them are typically omitted from narratives. See Figure 4, possibly a depiction of a 'wheel within a wheel' or a 'sun within a sun,' for a Paiwan representation of the sun as a cosmic vessel.

7.1 *Sounds of the Cosmic Vessels*

Sound plays a critical role in a number of cosmic vessel accounts, especially in Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Saisiyat and Seediq narratives. Typically, the sounds that emitted from the cosmic vessels were loud and distressful. Descriptions of these sounds was necessarily limited by the known natural environment. Yet, one myth told among the Klesan Atayal says that man emerged from a stone with a loud crash:

> In the ancient times, a huge stone protruded from the mountainside close to the peak of Papak Waqa. There were a man and a woman hidden inside the stone. A crow and a sslig (oracle bird) detected the truth so they came here and prayed for the appearance of human being every day. One day, the sslig's prayer worked. With a loud crash, the stone split into

> halves and the man and woman appeared. They got married and bore offspring. (Pu, 2012, p. 146)

The motif of sounds emanating from cosmic vessels is likewise preserved in the Bunun origin myth of the Taskavan. It is said that a god-man heard the sounds of crying children coming forth from a tree. When he chopped at it and tried to cut it down, the tree instantly healed itself closing each cut he had made. Eventually, due to his diligent efforts, eighteen children were freed from the tree through the intercedence of the gods (Rokkum, 2002, p. 722). Still another Bunun text confirms that at the splitting of the stone, there was a loud "boom" (Ou, 2017, p. 25).

It is said among the elders of the Caqovoqovolj Paiwan tribe that the protoplasts were created by singing and that the songs were prayers that sounded like the cicada chorus (Pu, 2012, p. 165). The cicada chorus is reminiscent of the effect produced by polyphonic overtone singing in Mongolian throat singing which place a heavy emphasis on amplified high-register harmonics.

One Saisiyat account states that at the peak of Papak Waka (meaning ear-shaped rock), which was one of seven spired peaks, the protoplasts emerged from their cosmic vessel with a loud burst to the sounds of praying birds. Inasmuch as sound is crucial in descriptions of cosmic vessels, in the Saisiayat text, odor is paramount. At the pristine alpine peak of the most sacred Saisiyat mountain which continues to this day to be protected by various taboos and must never be summited, a reeking stench was present at the origin of man:

> There was a huge strange rock on the top of Papak Waka. Its stench could be smelt far away. At sunset, the fissure of the rock gave forth a sound like a crying person. A cluster of curious birds gathered there when they heard the sound. They tried to peck open the rock but failed. One of the birds called *Chexili* said loudly, "I got it! The god will help as long as we pray. Let's close our eyes and pray!" after they finished praying, out of nowhere, a piece of grass flew here. Nobody knew the actual prayer of the birds. After a **loud burst**, the huge rock split open. A leisure boy and girl walked out from the rock. One of them had a banana in the hand and the other had a betelnut. (Pu, 2012, p. 32)

Rocks do not give off a stench that can be smelt far away. This "rock" which could summon birds and flying grass was a cosmic vessel that carried the protoplasts of the Saisiyat to their most sacred mountain. Papak Waka is the same mountain that the survivors of the great flood found refuge on and believed

to be the home of the gods. After the sounds of human cries, praying birds, and a loud burst, the protoplasts emerged from the craft not emptyhanded. However, since earlier portions of the text indicate that banana trees were abundant prior to the arrival of the protoplasts, the imagery of the protoplast carrying a banana appears symbolic as this is clearly not a "banana origin" motif. Nevertheless, it is clear that the banana in hand is further evidence that the cosmic vessels were capable of sustaining the protoplasts' lives during their internment.

The Plngawan Seediq origin myth also states that the protoplasts emerged from their cosmic stone due to a loud sound:

> A long time ago, there were no people on the earth. One day, suddenly, "Bang!!!," a terrific sound came from the stone called Pusu Ohuni, and the cliff split in half. One man and one woman came forth from the crack in the stone cliff. These were the ancestors of the Sediq tribe. (Chang, 2012, p. 177)

While these Formosan texts associate sounds of loud bursts, bangs and crashes that sounded like crying children or a cicada chorus with the cosmic vessels that produced the protoplasts, flying crafts witnessed by the Biblical Ezekiel made the noise of many waters resembling the sounds of an army in tumult, or the cries of men on the battlefield (Ezekiel 1:24). Likewise, the second book of the Kings describes chariots of fire as the vehicles that ferried the prophet Elijah into heaven with a loud whirlwind (2 Kings 2:11).

8 Instructions of the Gods

The gods are prominently featured as donors of knowledge in global creation myths. The primary anthropogonic myths of the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Rukai, Tsou, and Yami/Tao chronicle activities and skills that the protoplasts were taught by the gods, creatures and elements that functioned as surrogates or representatives of the gods. The most frequently expressed motif, which is represented across all seven of the aforementioned tribe's myths with the exception of the Tsou, regards guidance on the performance of sexual intercourse. According to the texts, the Amis and the Bunun protoplasts learned coitus from birds while the Atayal protoplasts discerned how to perform coitus by observing a fly. Birds and flies functioned as winged messengers of the gods. Likewise, the Kanakanavu, Paiwan, Rukai and Tao

protoplasts were enlightened how to couple by the gods. The necessity for this instruction is rationalized in one Atayal text:

> Then they said, "What should we do to increase our number?" And thought about this continually. First the woman went to the ridge of the mountain, spread wide her thighs, and had the wind blow on her. Thus, she thought she would become pregnant, but she did not, so it is said. Then once she thought, "If we two have sexual connection I will become pregnant, won't I?" They did not, however, at once understand how to accomplish this. They tried with the sphincter, the nostrils, then the ears, the mouth, all of the orifices, but accomplished nothing. Then, once, they saw a fly come rushing in flight and alight between the woman's thighs. Pondering on this they said, "This must be a hint from the gods." Then, when they tried this, the sexual desire of living things actually became this way. (Norbeck, 1950, p. 13)

Other Formosan myths indicate that the gods taught the protoplasts a variety of practices. In the Bunun myth, the Kulatto worm was taught by Pokulau and a mosquito how to stand up and walk (Tsai, 1996, p. 68). Kavalan texts say that the creator gods taught the protoplasts how to conduct healing rituals (Shimizu, 1998, p. 89). The Paiwan gods taught the protoplasts how to laugh, form villages and even speak different languages (Egli, 1989, p. 27–28). Another Paiwan myth claims that the god Pulelelelengan descended to Earth specifically to teach mankind about the world above, "the goodness of this place and about his most loving father Kulelelele" (Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 430). Pulelelelengan also taught the people how to acculturate each other. Yet another Paiwan text tells of how the creators organized the Paiwan caste system, arranged the division of the tribes, and separated the speakers of different language dialects.

> They (the creators) also said, "What should we do to make their (humans) languages different? We have to make sure that they speak different languages. If everyone speaks the same language, they won't be able to marry each other and people will no longer multiply." From this command of the father and the mother our languages became different. This is why there are Paiwan, Rukai, Puyuma, Amis, Atayal, Bunun, and Tsou, the seven tribes. It came from the decision of the father and the mother. (Egli, 1989, p. 28–30)

As attested within the Tsou compendium, the god Nivnu trained the protoplasts how to eat millet, hunt, farm, fish, make baskets, and make signs with

rocks (an allusion to writing). The god Soesoha taught the protoplasts how to brew and drink alcohol (Tung, 1964, p. 373). Another version claims that after Ninvu transformed leaves into men, he taught the protoplasts to build houses and said "When you make wine, you will always call the Iafafeoi God and The Old God and me" (Tung, 1964, p. 287) which is the basis for the Tfuea worship of this trinity. Another text insists that the supreme goddess Uimunu taught the protoplasts morality (Tsai, 1996, p. 70).

TABLE 31 Wisdom of the "gods"

Tribe	Teacher	Wisdom	Source
Amis	Fire/Birds	Coitus	Pu, 2012, p. 38; Chien, 1994, p. 91
Atayal	A fly	Coitus	Norbeck, 1950, p. 13–14; Obayashi, 1966, p. 3; Pu, 2012, p. 197; Hsu, 1956, p. 156
Bunun	Birds	Coitus	Pu, 2012, p. 30
	Pokulau & mosquito	Stand and walk	Tsai, 1996, p. 68
Kanakanavu	Parumaci[a]	Ruled the tribe as chief	CIP-Kanakanavu
Kavalan	Mutumazu[a]	Healing rituals	Shimizu, 1998, p. 89
Paiwan	Pulelelelengan[a]	About the goodness of heaven and Earth, the loving father Kulelelele and how to teach each other	Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 430
	[a]	How to laugh, form villages and speak different languages	Egli, 1989, p. 27–28

TABLE 31 Wisdom of the "gods" (*cont.*)

Tribe	Teacher	Wisdom	Source
	[a]	Coitus with a dog, different languages and social hierarchies (caste system)	Egli, 1989, p. 28–30
	First Woman	Coitus through urination	Ho, 1967, p. 243
Rukai	[a]	Coitus	Ho, 1967, p. 240
Tsou	Nivnu & Soeshoa[a]	Eat millet, hunt, farm, fish, basket making, making signs with rocks, brew and drink alcohol	Tung, 1964, p. 373
	Nivnu[a]	Brew alcohol, build houses, worship & summon the divine trinity (Iafafeoi, The Old God and creator Nivnu)	Tung, 1964, p. 287
	Ninewu[a]	Farm	Tu, 1959, p. 537
	Uimunu[a]	Morality	Tsai, 1996, p. 70
Yami	Ibago[a]	Coitus	Del Re, 1951, p. 45–46

a = Deity

9 Final Remarks

Related literature ambiguously notes that "many differences exist not only between different (Taiwanese Austronesian) ethnic groups, but also within the same ethnic group, that often coexist with different origin myths" (Admin, n.d.). With the present work, these "many differences" concerning origin myths have been identified and classified removing the previously ubiquitous nebulosity.

This monograph anthologizes all of Taiwan's aboriginal primary anthropogonic myths and identifies the salient motifs found therein. The full breadth of motifs and narrative themes recorded in these Formosan myths is remarkably

comprehensive as they incorporate cosmological, theogonic, creation, genesis and drift origin myths of remarkably diverse genres. These texts chronicle the inception of Formosan myth-time and set the stage for the post-primary anthropogonic epoch, the Golden Age. Chronologically primeval mythologems set within the Golden Age integrate themes such as *shooting the sun, human-animal transformation, visitors from the sky, vagina dentata, non-primary immaculate conception events, zombies, magic-wielding negritos, Edenic abundance of vittles, monsters* and *giants*. The sheer volume of oral histories revolving around these themes and a great deal more, cast the Formosan Golden Age narratives as an avocation meriting further examination, worthy of being anthologized and promulgated widely.

Questions regarding the origins of the first ancestors, who created them, how they came into being, and the objects that they are believed to have emerged from, as they are chronicled within the sacred oral histories of Taiwan's Austronesian tribes have been addressed herein. The attached corpus (Appendix 1) is included to validate the findings of the present study and to facilitate future research by anyone who is interested in forming a more complete understanding of the great story of humanity. It is hoped that this corpus along with the other topic specific corpora which this author compiles will serve as a starting point for research concerning Formosan mythology, as well as Austronesian identity and culture as it pertains on aboriginals on Taiwan.

Lastly, even as "There is no remembrance of former things, nor will there be any remembrance of things that are to come by those who will come after" (Ecclesiastes 1:11), let us endeavor to remember and seek out the wisdom enshrined in the sacred teachings of these Formosan primary anthropogonic myths.

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Formosan Origin Myths Corpus

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Note on Translations

This corpus is comprised of 23 compendia and includes a total of 255 Formosan and Bashiic origin myths. These texts are provided in full and taken verbatim from the cited sources in accordance with Article 52 of Taiwan's copyright laws and *fair use doctrine* as it pertains to scholarship, research and educational purposes. Of the 255 texts, 103 texts were translated by the author from Mandarin and German into English for the international readership. The 92 Mandarin-English translations are marked with the symbol ⁂ while the eleven German-English translations are marked with the symbol †. The utmost of care was afforded to all translations in order to preserve them in original form and preserve the original meanings of the source texts. For further study, readers are encouraged to consult the source texts cited herein.

Compendia are alphabetically organized according to theme: (First) Creation, (Second) Genesis, and (Third) Drift. Also, village of origin is noted in cases where said detail is available.

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Origin Myths

Amis Origin Myths

Text. Amis 1

Source: Yeh, 2008, p. 46

According to this Amis origin myth, the deity created the Amis ancestor, Masera. He had two sons, Tapang Masera and Rarog Masera. They lived in a place named Arapanay in the beginning. But they were carried along by a swift current of the ocean, which was caused by the kawas, to the mouth of the Chippong (Jhiben) river in Taitung. They named their landing point Arapanay in memory of their homeland.

Text. Amis 2

Source: Taylor, 1886, p. 79

A god planted a staff that transformed into bamboo. Two shoots sprouted from the bamboo which transformed into a male and a female protoplast. Their offspring occupied Kouasain near Puyuma in Taitung City.

Text. Amis 3

Source: Chien, 1994, p. 91ff; Pu, 2012, p. 38

The god Abokurayan lived in the sea east of Taiwan. He traveled to Orchid island to live with the goddess Tariburayan. One day, a fire started when some hanging rattan was pulled violently. That was the origin of fire. While they were roasting yams over a fire Abokurayan knelt by the fire and noticed something protruding from below his waist. Then Tariburayan noticed that she had a hole. Then, they learned the ways of men and women by watching two wagtails (birds) wagging their tails and their population increased.

Text. Amis 4 – Kuraluts

Source: Mabuchi, 1974, p. 91

A couple of ancestral deities descended from heaven to the island of Vutul (Orchid). They ate the tubers. Along with a son and a daughter, they left the island by boat which the male deity made. Because they found indigenous people already living in Kakawasan where they landed, they continued to navigate toward the north as far as Talaruma' where they also found indigenous people. At last, they landed at Takilis where there were no inhabitants. They planted the tubers they brought, but they happened to

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find both "millet" and rice growing there. As these were delicious, they cultivated the soil by a hoe they made from bamboo and wood and planted these grains.

Text. Amis 5 – Kiwit

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 38

In the ancient times, two god people, Sera (husband) and Nakaw (wife) came to the place of god, Tawrayan (part of Xiujia Mountain). They bore Tapang Masera (son) and Nakaw (daughter), and lived happy lives.

Text. Amis 6 – Nanshi

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 39

In the ancient times, two children named Keseng (boy) and Madapidap (girl) took sun and moon as parents and lived at Panapanayan (the southern coast of Taitung Hall Tipul clan). They got married (at Cilangasan Mountain) and bore Dadakiolo (son) (he entered Etip A Lotok and became Iwatan high mountain tribal people later), Tadi'afo (son) (he became the ancestor of Taiwanese people later), Aputok (son) (he became Takidis high mountain tribal people later), Doci (son), Lalakan (daughter), and Tiyamacan (daughter).The sun and moon bore a son named Keseng and a daughter named Madapidap.

Text. Amis 7 – Nanshih

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 100–101; Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 294–295ӂ

In the ancient times, sun and moon's son named Keseng and daughter named Madapidap lived at Panapanayan. They married each other and bore six children. Dadakiolo (son), Tadi'afo (son), Aputok (son), Doci (son), Lalakan (daughter), and Tiyamacan (daughter).

Text. Amis 8 – Mataian

Source: Pu, 2012 p. 38

A brother named Cihcih and a sister named Di'sil took sun and moon as their parents. They came to the world and got married. Then they bore Nowayalaw (brother) and 'anafoyaw (sister) … They had more and more offspring and became a tribe.

Text. Amis 9 – Mataian/Tisalo

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 243

In the period of chaos, when space was without sky and land, two spirits appeared. The man spirit's name was Mareyap, the female spirits' name was Maswang. They had two children. The boy's name was Arayan; the girls' name was Mahadingo. Arayan and Mahadingo had healthy offspring; the important ones being Miahseles and Dongi, the

female spirits, and Anafiyaw and Lopalangaw who are the male spirits. Arayan became the sky, so the people of the Amis tribe called the sky Kakarayan. Mahadingo became the sun; Anafiyaw became the moon; the Dongi created the human beings; and the Lopalangaw created the mountains to support the sky, and then they created a great number of creatures. After a bird named Wu-Cho, called "Tacyoturapu, Tacyoturapu," the sky rose to its current height. The Lopalangaw ordered the sun to rise in the east and to set in the west, and ordered the moon to change its shape in phases from crescent to full so that the tribes could follow a monthly time-cycle. The Lopalangaw also created animals and plants.

Text. Amis 10 – Vataan

Source: Ferrell, 1969, p. 54

In the first time before there existed a heaven and Earth, and the cosmos was total darkness, the god Mareyap and the goddess Maswan appeared. They had a son, Arayan, and a daughter, Ma'aleno. Arayan transformed himself into the illuminating sky (karayan), which is like a vast mirror stretched above the Earth, shining upon the Earth and producing shadows or souls (aleno), which are then the concern of the goddess Ma'aleno. The third generation of gods were the sons and daughters of Arayan and Ma'aleno. They included Mea'sele, the goddess who became the sun (cital), and her brother Avaneyau who became the moon (vodal); the goddess Done who created life and is sometimes referred to as Kawas no 'Orip (Deity of Life); and most important, the god Lopalanau, who made his reluctant brother and sisters assume their respective duties

Text. Amis 11

Source: Pache, 1964, p. 92†; Frazer, 2013, p. 106; Mabuchi, 1974, p. 100–101

Once, at a certain time, there lived the god couple Kakumodan-Sapotorokku and Vuraiwavu. They lived in heaven. At the command of the Divine Mother and the Divine Father, they descended from heaven to earth in Taurayan, now Mikasayama. The divine parents said to them: "Descend to the earth!" The children Sura and Nakao replied: "Yes!" The divine parents continued: "As I descend, I become singular! Does the "father" speak alone? I give you pigs, water deer, noble deer, kite bird and hundred-tongued bird. I will also give you the E-e bird for lunch. You don't own anything, but don't be afraid! There is no dying for you. On earth, however, there are bad gods, Kavuiru and Aka, who hang around everywhere. Even if they bother you, never be afraid! They are vagabonds. You will encounter such conditions, children!" The two gods then descend onto Misasayama … They called the children by their names: "Sura! Nakao!" but since the children had gone out to play, there was no answer. So they left the children where they were and fled to heaven.

Text. Amis 12 – Qimei

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 101–102

In the ancient times, a god couple Sera (husband) and Nakaw (wife), came to the world. They lived at the holy place, Tawrayan (part of Xiujia Mountain), and bore a son named Tapang Masera and a daughter named Nakaw. The family lived there happily …

Text. Amis 13

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 167ff

Two gods, buton and kumi descended from the sky to the Earth. Later they ascended together hand in hand. Halfway up, the goddess Kumi fell and at the same time, a plant called puwa fell and a person appeared in the puwa. We are his descendants.

Text. Amis 14

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 168ff & Chen, 2020, p. 339

There was a giant tree at Arapanai. One day, this tree was split by a lightning strike. Two women and one man were born from the crack of the tree. They were the ancestors of the pangtsah.

Text. Amis 15

Source: Chien, 1994, p. 91ff

The ancestors of the Puyuma and the Amis lived on Orchid Island. One day there was a large earthquake on Orchid Island. A stone split open and they were born. Later they traveled to Green Island and eventually they moved to Houzai Mountain. Then the two groups separated.

Text. Amis 16

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 240

In ancient times there was a big rock in the Botel Tabago Island. The rock split open and from it came a man who became an ancestor of all mankind. Some of his descendants became Japanese, and some the natives. Our ancestors stayed on the island for a long period and then they crossed a bridge to Sanasai. However, they found the island was too small and inconvenient in many ways, and they again crossed a bridge to the main island of Formosa.

Text. Amis 17 – Molisaka

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 243

The tribal elders said that our ancestors were born from a big stone in the Arapanay.

Text. Amis 18

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 580

The Ami tribe account for their origin in two ways. One tradition resembles the Puyuma in that their ancestors were born from a stone which lay on a mountain near Chipun river. Tiruti and Tihongan being thus created, founded a village called Varangao. Four of their descendants, all brothers, proceeded to the north across the Pinan river, and became the ancestors of the tribe now there.

Text. Amis 19

Source: Chien, 1994, p. 91ff

The Amis and the Puyuma were both born from stones at Aranpai. Then, they moved north to Tsirangasan.

Text. Amis 20

Source: Dongi, 2015, p. 297ff

1. Following is the reason why the Amis exist in Taiwan, according to what I learned from the elders. According to legend, this uncle told me about the origins in Taiwan are very different.
2. According to legend, the first father and mother were married in Madaya, and after having a child, they planned to start a family of their own. As the population increased, siblings married each other.

Text. Amis 21 – Shukoran River Valley

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 580

According to the belief of the tribe occupying the Shukoran river valley, they originally occupied the neighboring island of Sanasanac and were called Sanasai.

Later they came in boats, landed at the mouth of the Shukoran river, and established seven large villages there. Thus the name at present given to the island is perhaps a corruption of Sanasana.

Text. Amis 22 – Riru

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 580

The Riru tribe of Kirai district of the northern Amis state that their forefathers originally lived in an island to the east of Formosa. One savage, called Tipots, and his family were out at sea in two canoes when a terrific gale arose, sweeping them away from their home land, and wrecking them on the coast of Formosa, where they built houses and gave life to the present Riru tribe. This tribe possesses an old canoe, which they claim is the model of the one used by their forefathers. At present, the village people

once a year put the canoe into the sea and mimic the landing of their ancestors. After this ceremony, the spirits of their departed ancestors are worshipped.

Text. Amis 23 – Riru

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 580

Their ancestors came from over the sea on the back of a large tortoise.

Text. Amis 24

Source: Chen, 1987, p. 12

Amis oral tradition admits of arrival in Formosa over the sea. The names of overseas places such as Sanasai, Vasai, Vatan (Batan), etc. have been mentioned, indicating stepping stones, if not the origin, of migrations.

Text. Amis 25 – Nanshih

Source: Kim, 2003, p. 30–31

A long time ago there was a brother and sister. His name was Doci and her name was Lalatan (or Lalakan). They lived with their parents on an island called Lagasan (or Kalapana-panai) in the Pacific Ocean. Doci was about fourteen and Lalatan was about two. One day their father instructed Doci to take Lalatan and tend their other farm which was over the mountains. Sometime after Doci and Lalatan arrived at the other farm, it began to rain a very heavy rain." They traveled to Taiwan and became the ancestors.

Text. Amis 26

Source: Beaupre, 2007, p. 95–98

After disembarking on Taiwan, Duji and Naya (not siblings), separated in order to search for other people but, eventually, finding no one, they married each other and gave birth to several children.

Atayal Origin Myths

Text. Atayal 1

Source: Rau, 1992, p. 242–243

There was a woman who came to Taiwan, to the Big Snow Mountain. Before she reached the mountain, she gave birth to a boy. When the Boy reached twenty years old, his mother went everywhere to find a wife for him. But there was no one. She knew that she had to change herself to become the young woman. The next day he was told to go to the tattooed woman, who was actually his mother with her face tattooed with soot. The young man went and said, "This is my mother." They got married and this is the origin of our ancestors

Text. Atayal 2

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 197; Hsu, 1956, p. 156ff; & Kim, 1980, p. 146

In the beginning of the world, a god and two goddesses came down to a huge rock on a hilltop and the rock was split up into two parts. It naturally formed the Grand Palace. The gods named this place ancestors' place and lived here peacefully. One day, the god said to the goddesses, "Let's create offspring!" The goddesses kept smiling. Though they touched each other with eyes and mouths, they could not feel each other's passion. When they were thinking about various methods, a fly suddenly flew to a certain part of the goddess and stopped. The gods realized the "complementary parts" right away and learned how to have offspring. They had sexual intercourse from then on and bore several sons. They were ancestors of human beings.

Text. Atayal 3

Source: Tsai, 1996, p. 87ff

In ancient times, on a mountain called bapunko'lo there were birds that wanted to move a large stone. So, the shishileku bird flew over and threw the baba stone into the water and the stone cracked and a man and a woman emerged from it.; (some say there were four men and women).

Text. Atayal 4

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 155ff

The p'isiojakk bird flew to a large rock outcropping over the sea to the east of p'insabaka. The rock cracked and two people appeared. Then seven were born. The children grew up and married each other.

Text. Atayal 5 – Kngayan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 247

A man and a woman lived in the large rock which was located on top of the mountain called Papak Waqa. One day, all the birds gathered to select their leader. One suggested, "Whoever has strong enough pecking power to let this couple out from the large rock, will be the leader of the birds." Every bird took a turn to peck but no one was successful. Until a wonderful pecking sound emerged from the spirit bird, Sisin, who pecked at the large rock and caused it to be broken. So, the couple came out to become the ancestors of human beings. And the spirit bird Sisin became the leader of the birds.

Text. Atayal 6

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 146

In the ancient times, a huge stone protruded from the mountainside close to the peak of Papak Waqa (Dabajian Mountain). There were a man and a woman hidden inside the stone. A crow and a ssilig (a type of Chinese Hwamei) detected the truth so they came here and prayed for the appearance of human beings every day. On day, the

ssilig's prayer worked." With a loud crash, the stone split into halves and the man and woman appeared. They got married and bore offspring. After hundreds of years, these family members formed the present 'tayal tribe."

Text. Atayal 7 – Pyanan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 246

In the chaos period, there was a large rock on top of the mountain Papak Waqa, which no one could remove. One day, all the birds were gathered there to have a meeting to select a leader. One suggested that whoever could remove this large rock would be their leader. Everyone agreed to this. Only the smallest spirit bird, named Sisin, could remove that large rock after all other birds had tried. The large rock rolled down from the top of the mountain into the valley, where it broke into two pieces. A man appeared from one side and a woman appeared from the other side; they then became the ancestors of the Tayal.

Text. Atayal 8 – Wantai

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 156ж

In the ancient times. Crows and ts'I'p'itsi'ip'I birds swam and waded with their heads bowed. But a crow was swept away by the water and drowned leaving the ts'I'p'itsi'ip'I birds to wade in the water. So, the birds gradually changed and there appeared a man and woman who became husband and wife. They had children.

Text. Atayal 9

Source: Norbeck, 1950, p. 13–14

With regard to the origin of us Atayal by splitting a stone, it is said that there was a very large stone. It split in two suddenly and two men and one woman emerged from the place where it cleaved. When they looked about them, their surroundings were just deep virgin forests and wild beasts. Thereupon one of the men said, "I don't like living on earth," and re-entered the severed place in the stone, so it is said.

The other two wanted to stop him, but he had already gone in. Then they said, "What should we do to increase our number?" and thought about this continually. First the woman went to the ridge of the mountain, spread wide her thighs, and had the wind blow on her. Thus, she thought she would become pregnant, but she did not, so it is said. Then once she thought, "If we two have sexual connection I will become pregnant, won't I? They did not, however, at once understand how to accomplish this. They tried with the sphincter, the nostrils, then the ears, the mouth, all of the orifices, but accomplished nothing. Then, once, they saw a fly come rushing in flight and alight between the woman's thighs. Pondering on this they said, "This must be a hint from the gods. Then, when they tried this, the sexual desire of living things actually became this way (satisfaction

was attained in this way), so it is said. After a time the body of the woman became strange, and her belly gradually grew larger. When the month came she confined herself to the house (gave birth to a child), and the joy of the father and mother was very great. The origin of us Atayal, who split a stone asunder and then increased, is thus.

Text. Atayal 10 – Kngayan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 247

There were two men and a woman who emerged from the large broken rock which was located at the top of mountain of Papak Waqa. One of the men saw animals and forests so he said "I do not want to live here." Then he went back inside the large rock, and the other two could not stop him in time.

Text. Atayal 11

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 33

All human beings come from the huge stone at Pinsabukan. In the ancient times, the huge stone at Pinsabukan split open suddenly. A male and female were born from the stone first. Then another person was born and said to the first-borns, "Please help me take a bath, and we will be immortal." The first-borns refused, so the younger one returned to the fissure of the huge stone and said, "You will suffer from aging, illness, and death from now on."

Text. Atayal 12

Source: Obayashi, 1966, p. 3

In ancient times there was an immense rock in the sea east of Pinasabakan, and from this rock the original couple of the human race were born; they learned about sex from a fly, and seven children came out of their union in more than ten years. These intermarried, and their race became numerous. Then two boys were born idiots, and even after they grew up to be sturdy young men, they went around villages with their bodies smeared with dung. Villagers seized them, and took them to the seashore to clean their impurity, when the waves carried them away. The two young men shouted that if the villagers saved them their lives would become as long as a crape myrtle's but if they abandoned them to be drowned their lives would be as short as a dayflower's. The villagers tried all means to save them, but they did not succeed. Since then, they became filled with strife and unrest and human lives became short.

Text. Atayal 13 – Daya

Source: Kuan, 2013, p. 121

The ancestors of Mrqwang, Knazi and Malipa all came from Pinsbkan ("the split rock"), the origin of the Atayal people in the central mountain range.

Text. Atayal 14

Source: Eisenberg, 2019, p. 103

Once upon a time there was a big btunux ("stone" in the Tayal language) that rose up from the ground in Nantao. This is the origin of Tayal. Out of this stone was born one man and one woman, who are the ancestors of the Tayal tribe.

Text. Atayal 15

Source: Chou, 2015ǂ

It is said that a long time ago, at Pinsbkan, a huge rock cracked open, and a man and a woman jumped out of the cracked rock. This pair were siblings, and there was no other person there. The older brother was simple and honest, and the younger sister is smart and dexterous. One day, the younger sister was thinking about the matter of reproduction, and worried that her brother would not have sex with her, so she came up with a way to deceive her brother, and then said to her brother: "Tomorrow, there will be a woman behind the mountain, with a black face, when you see her, you can have sex with her, that is your wife." The elder brother did not doubt her so he did what she said. Since then, they have combined to have children and become the ancestors of the Atayal people. This is the origin of man and tattooing.

Text. Atayal 16

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 154ǂ

At patsupak mayan, a moss-covered stone split and the ancestors were born. They were two men and one woman who lived for a long time. They had four children.

Text. Atayal 17

Source: Tsai, 1996, p. 88ǂ

There was a giant stone at inkahol'an. One day the boulder collapsed and a woman emerged. Later she sat on a stone on the mountain top, spread her legs and allowed the wind to blow inside. She became pregnant and gave birth to a boy.

Text. Atayal 18

Source: Rau, 1992, 243

In Taichung, the Big Snow Mountain, a great thing happened. The stone split and from there came many people in the past. The ones who lived on the flat land were smarted than the ones on the mountain. They were supposed to shout to find out which group had more people. They said "Don't make any sound so they won't know we have many people" So they shouted "Waw." They said, "In the past only big worms

had as great a number of population as you people." So they hid some of their people. They went to bend down so the "waw" they shouted was a soft one …

Text. Atayal 19 – Malepa

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 156ǂ

The ancestors originated in Dabaijan Mountain. There was a large pile of dirt in the belly of the mountain, which smelled like human feces. One night there was a large earthquake and the land split into several pieces and a man and woman came out. They were the protoplasts.

Text. Atayal 20

Source: Tien, 2003ǂ

In ancient times, there was a cliff in the land of Pinsabakan. One day, the cliff became two caves, and one male and one female came out of it. After that, the two of them became numerous.

Text. Atayal 21 – Kalapai

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 155ǂ; Chen, 2020 p. 339

A long time ago, there was a giant tree at p'atsp'akuaka. The root of this giant tree split and a stone lay in the crack of the root. At one moment, the stone suddenly broke. One man and one woman came out of the crack of the stone. They became the couple and gave births to a son and a daughter.

Bunun Origin Myths

Text. Bunun 1 – Takivatan

Source: Riftin, 2001, p. 196; Hsu, 1956, p. 159ǂ

In the earliest times there were seven women on earth, and five men fell from the heavens. They got together and gave birth to two males.

Text. Bunun 2

Source: Hung & Lin, 2021

At the beginning of the world, a giantess is wandering alone on this land. She quietly sat there and looked into the distance for a long time. Her every sigh turned into thick white fog moisturizing the land. The land started to flourish and grow many giant trees, flowers, birds and other animals. Her body and two legs also started to transform. Her body transformed into the Jade Mountain Range (玉山山脈). Her two toes turned into

two lower mountains which are Mount Guntai (郡大山) and Xiluanda Shan (西巒大山). Bunun believe their ancestors come from giantess's toes, and they are giantess's offspring.

Text. Bunun 3 – Kuphong

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 244

A long time ago, a gourd dropped from the sky. Then a man and a woman emerged from it. They got married and became the ancestors of human beings. Then their offspring multiplied and prospered on the earth.

Text. Bunun 4 – Ivaxo (Ivaho)

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 246; Hsu, 1956, p. 159ff; Riftin, 2001, p. 195

If we were to tell you the story of how we human beings were born long ago, we would say that a gourd fell down from heaven, broke open, and two persons came out of it. The man and the woman from the gourd became husband and wife, and their children multiplied. Among the children were girls as well as boys; the girls and boys intermarried, and from them many children were born and human beings became plentiful.

Text. Bunun 5

Source: Ou, 2017, p. 25ff

In ancient times, during the setting of the sun, a beautiful insect with wings appeared from the sun. One day, the bug transformed into a humanoid. It had many descendants.

Text. Bunun 6 – Nansan

Source: Tsai, 1996, p. 67ff

A red gourd flower fell from the sky and hidden amongst its petals was a gourd. Out of the gourd emerged a winged worm called Sokkalu which gradually transformed into a human. This was the first man.

Text. Bunun 7 – Bahafuru

Source: Riftin, 2001, p. 195; Hsu, 1956, p. 159ff; Ou, 2017, p. 23ff

The Bahafuru settlement of the Isbukun group recounts that in ancient times there was a large ladle and an earthen cauldron. The ladle gave birth to a man, and the cauldron gave birth to a woman, these were the progenitors of the human race.

Text. Bunun 8

Source: Fang, 2016, p. 124

One day a bee larva fell down on the ground. It twisted its body several times and transformed into a man. On another day a woman came out from a pumpkin.

Text. Bunun 9

Source: Tsai, 1996, p. 68ǂ

A Kulatto worm was lying on the ground. Pokulau came and after feeding Kulatto, Pokulau told him to stand up but Kulatto didn't know how. Then a mosquito bit Kulatto so he got up and walked. Later Kulatto gave birth to two children. They are the ancestors.

Text. Bunun 10 – Isbukun Tungpu

Source: Riftin, 2001, p. 196

The Isbukun Tungpu settlement account of insects metamorphosing into people, or the inch worm or cricket that gives birth to a human.

Text. Bunun 11

Source: Pache, 1964, p. 133†

The potato beetle moved forward with its face upwards and was therefore not fast. The dung beetle and the mosquito and the mekaka (mouse) gave advice: To make 'dung beads' – shouldn't you help the guy on his feet? And also, for the purpose of being able to drink the sweet juice of his leg? The Mekaka wants eye fat for its part, so shouldn't we raise the guy up for that? So, this potato beetle was put on its feet and became a human being. He was now faster when walking. That's why since then the mosquito bites his leg, the mekaka gather in front of his eyes, the dung beetle demands his dung.

Text. Bunun 12 – Tamatho'wan

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 159ǂ

There were taro worms which were crawling on the ground and moved very fast and later transformed into humans by walking.

Text. Bunun 13

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 30

In the ancient times, two human figures without bones crawled on the land. One day, many ants, mosquitoes, and maggots gathered and surrounded these two figures. They were shocked. They stood up, walked away, and turned into human beings. Then they learned sexual intercourse from birds and gave birth to more offspring.

Text. Bunun 14

Source: Jhong, 2018, p. 10

"dung pile made by spiders"

Text. Bunun 15 – Take-'banoat

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 30; Riftin, 2001, p. 196; Hsu, 1956, p. 158ǂ

According to the legend of Tansikian family in Katoguran clan, a child was born from the dog excrement beside the roots of the mountain. The offspring of the child became the ancestor of the family.

Text. Bunun 16

Source: De Busser, 2009, p. 630

The first humans were created from excrements that were produced by the sky.

Text. Bunun 17

Source: Ou, 2017, p. 24ǂ

In ancient times, there were two caves in Mintongon. One day, a taro beetle (Narhar) kneaded its feces into two feces balls and threw them into the two caves respectively. Fifteen days later, a man came out of one cave and a woman came out of another cave. When they grew up, they got married and lived in harmony. After some time, my wife's belly swelled. One day, the pain started to tear apart, and even my waist hurt. After a while, the wife screamed in pain. At this time, she incredibly felt something rotating in her belly. After four rotations, she finally gave birth to a boy and a girl. The couple was very happy and raised their children carefully. More than ten years later, the children grew up, and they got married and had many children. After a few more decades, all the nearby fruits were eaten up by many people, and everyone dispersed to live in all directions. They are the ancestors of the Bunun Zhuo community (Lin Daosheng, 2001).

Text. Bunun 18

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 158ǂ

At the Taiso-ulavan tribe, people were born from feces balls made by worms called ha'doha'do.

Text. Bunun 19 – Ququaz

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 245

In the chaos period, there was a place named Mintungulu where two holes showed up on the ground. A worm named Haluhallu rolled up her feces into two balls and placed them into the holes. After a while, a man came out of one hole and a woman came out of the other one to become the ancestors of human beings. They got married and their offspring multiplied to become the human beings of today.

Text. Bunun 20

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 158ǂ

The Banita band of the Tansikian tribe was born from the white hairy mold that grows on feces.

Text. Bunun 21 – Tanapima

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 159ǂ

The tanapima clan was born from red taro (tang-'dangqas).

Text. Bunun 22 – Tamarowan/Sinapalan

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 239 & Chang, 2012, p. 245

In ancient times a rock on the top of the Emebal Mountain split open and many people came out. Among them were persons called Take-todo and Take-baka who became the ancestors of our village.

Text. Bunun 23

Source: Ou, 2017, p. 25ǂ

There was a very ancient stone lying on the top of Jade Mountain. One day, this ancient boulder, split in the hot sun making a "Boom!" It split in half with a sound, and many people of all shapes and sizes ran out of the cracks.

Text. Bunun 24 – Take-bakha

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 329

Banitoran was the place where our ancestors first landed on this island. Because there were so many banitor trees on the shore, we called the place by this name.

Hoanya Origin Myths

Text. Hoanya 1

Source: Chen, 1993, p. 98ǂ

Once, there was a prince who was very good at archery. One day he crossed the river and entered the dark forest to go hunting. He shot several hundred white rabbits there. As he was about to return home, the Pi Ya ghost suddenly appeared. It spread its big black wings and attacked the prince. Although the prince shot with his bow and arrows very quickly, he couldn't hit the Piya ghost. The prince was covered by the Piya ghost's large black wings and eaten. When the Piya ghost flew away, only the prince's white bones were left.

After that, the giant Piya ghost had a taste for eating men and became greedy. At first, the Piya ghost was satisfied to ete hunters who fell in the black forest. But then it waded across the river on a moonlit night and entered the Hoanya tribe to catch people for food. The tribesmen who escaped cut down bamboo poles, built a large raft, and floated across the sea to avoid the giant with the big black wings.

The Hoanya people drifted with the wind and waves for many days before they reached the central plains of Taiwan.

Favorlang Origin Myths

Text. Favorlang 1

Source: Campbell, 1896, p. 23

Ln. 34 Haibos is the creator of heaven, the earth, and the sea.

p. 23 Ln. 54: (Haibos) he deceived the first man called Adam, as well as all his posterity, and many more of our sojourners in the world, so, also, has he in former years deceived your forefathers and their posterity, just as he has deceived all the inhabitants of this island, whereby they now believe the words of a lying old slut, and put their confidence in the song of a little bird, bearing, as our first forefather did, the name of Adam.

p. 24 Ln. 55: Haibos has declared that he makes even Adam to sing and to prophesy.

p. 25 Ln. 58: Haibos says that he has formed man, that he causes the sun to rise, and that he fertilizes the fruits of the fields.

p. 31 Ln. 80: Ye have feared and sacrificed to him enough; flee from Haibos as a poisonous serpent.

p. 32. The prophetesses of Haibos, who have taught these inhabitants of Ternern, and other inhabitants of this island, to follow after vain superstitions.

Kanakanavu Origin Myths

Text. Kanakanavu 1

Source: CIP-Kanakanavu

Parumaci stood up suddenly and kicked the trunk of a karu suru (Jiatan tree) with red leaves. All the leaves fell down and overlapped one another. Then, they became a house. Parumaci kicked the tree again, and the fallen leaves transformed into hundreds of men, and Parumaci became their chief, forming a village.

Text. Kanakanavu 2

Source: Pache, 1964, p. 162†

In ancient times, a woman became pregnant on her own. She gave birth to a child without a husband. This child, conceived out of wedlock, said to a stone: "Divide yourself!" The child entered through the opening as if into his house and lived there. When this child stepped outside and looked around, he found that the entire land was made of rocky abyss. There was no place where the tribe members could live. When he once

stomped the ground with the millet pestle, half of the area became level while the rest remained rocky terrain.

Text. Kanakanavu 3

Source: Mabuchi, 1974, p. 88

A female deity was born from a rock. Because there was nothing to eat, she asked the heavenly deity for some food. The heavenly deity gave her fish, animals, and rice. At that time, it was enough to boil half a grain of rice for a meal, because it swelled enough to fill a cooking pot. She met a male deity eating sand of the river bed, and she married him.

Kavalan Origin Myths

Text. Kavalan 1

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 89

That is said to have happened long ago. There was Mutumazu. There were as yet no other people in the world, only Mutumazu, it is said. Long, long ago there was Siangaw, the ancestors of old who gave us life, there was only this one couple, it is said. Wel, long, long ago, when they had just come, there was no food. Since there was not food, Mutumazu said, "Whatever are we going to do? If we don't work and just sit still, what on earth are we going to eat? If that's' the case, I'll go and plant rise" said Mutumazu. Siangaw said "That's right. If we don't do the planting, there'll be nothing to eat." So, he cut down the trees on the mountain and planted mountain rice. It no time the clearing was done, the site where he had cut the trees had become spacious. "That's enough. Now we plant mountain rice," he said. Yes, they planted mountain rise, it is said. In a while something seems to have happened. Mutumazu was pregnant, it is said. Pregnant and when the time of birth seemed near, she gave birth. She gave birth and the child was a boy, it is said. … . (The father repeatedly feeds the baby crabs) … The child was on the point of death, because the crabs had gnawed its insides. Mutumazu quickly removed the crabs from his stomach and wept furiously, "After all I told you, when I told you yesterday, you replied 'H'm," Yet, today you did this to our child again." And saying this, she removed the crabs the child had eaten. However, it was to no avail. His entrails had been gnawed to tatters it is said, the child had died. Since the child had died, "Whatever are we going to do? Our child has died," thought Mutumazu. Since the child had died in this way, she wept in sorrow. No matter how often they made *pasp* (healing ritual) for the child, he never opened his eyes again it is said. Because he did not open his eyes, there was nothing to be done … . (Mutumazu performed many rituals to bring the child back to life but nothing worked) … The next day, it is said, Mutumazu

gathered grass and piled it up in the yard. She set fire to the pile of grass, smoke rose and with the smoke she ascended. Mutumazu ascended to heaven. Siangaw was still down below and then he did not listen to what his wife said. "I go up first and you stay down below at your place." (He follows Mutumazu to heaven) … But in a short while they descended again. In olden times, they could descend, you know not only descend, but also ascend at will, in olden times that is. Well. Mutumazu descended, it is said. Descended to us who are kisaizan, and told us, it is said. "Since I have already gone to the place in heaven and you stay down below, that is to say, eh, as far as you are concerned, if you can follow my actions and learn you can do the same cure sickness by ritual means. That is what she said … (Mutumazu taught many healing rituals) …

Text. Kavalan 2 – Dimei

Source: MOC-Kavalan (n.d.); Pu, 2012, p. 40

My ancestors were called 'Avan,' and they set out across the ocean in boats from a place called Mariryan. They landed in Tamsui in the northwest of Taiwan, and then proceeded along the coast in an easterly direction. They lingered for a while in the Sandiao Cape region, but then they marched on until they reached a place named Kavana (Gezitan).

Text. Kavalan 3 – Hsinshe

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 201–217; Li & Tsuchida, 2006, p. 45–46

In olden times the Kavalan are said to have lived in Snasay. Four siblings built a boat. When the boat was built, they set out. They set out, but drifted and were blown northward by the wind. They landed shortly at what later was known to be Ilan. They landed at the sand beach of Ilan. They reached the sand beach of Ilan and landed there. Then the sister Abaskua went to the upland in order to look for farmland, she went up … . And Abaskua and her people up above in the mountains became Taroko, the people down below became Kavalan.

Text. Kavalan 4

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 264–280

Long ago we Kavalan are said to have come to Taiwan in this way. It is said that we formerly lived in the Philippines. Because there were many, I don't know what the old people of yore thought. "Ah, because so many of us live here, let's get on a boat and go fishing," they said. "Let's fish," they said, in no time four men set out fishing. The men set out fishing, it is said, but they were suddenly blown off course by the wind. They landed, came here, but in old times, there was no name of Taiwan. There was no Taiwan, but they suddenly came here, who came here were four men, it is said. They arrived here and saw this Taiwan. "Ah, this is great, let's settle here," said the four men it is said. That is to say, they went fishing and came here as they were. "Ah, this is great, the firm land is good, it is good to settle here, let's settle here," said the men who had

gone fishing. Whatever time elapsed, the boat did not return. "Why is it that our husbands' boat does not return?" said the women. After three days, no on the fourth day, they returned. "Why didn't you come back? When asked, "We were driven off by the wind when fishing, we were blown off to this land over there." That's what the men said to their wives. They asked "What is it like over there/" "We went to the firm land over there at it is good land," said the men tot their wives. "How good?" "Very good, let's go and settle over there. This is a place to live, a site to make paddy fields, everything is there. Let's go and live at our place over there," said the men to their wives. "If we move over there in future, when will we come back here?" "No, we are not returning, we'll live in Taiwan forever." They said, it is said. … (Some time passed) … In a short while the men went once again to the Philippines to fish, "The island over there is good, we are on this island over there. This island is good, we have been there, it's good over there, but our island is not good. Let's go to our place over there. The men, the four men said. Therefore, "Shall we go over there?" they asked. This time, all of them came over. Some of them came over as couples, the whole household, father, mother, all seem to have come. His relatives, his father, his mother, all came over, on this day, all of them came over it is said. "Ah, what a good place." In a twinkle, the story went round to all the people in Sunasay and therefore, "Ah, let's go over there, if we go, it will be good." They said, it is said. In this way these people came over from the Philippines, it is said. And we Kavalan became inhabitants of Taiwan.

Text. Kavalan 5

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 281

They came to fish, it is said, two siblings to fish, it is said. They came each with a partner of two bamboo rafts. All on a sudden a storm arose and while they were blown here and there, they reached Hualien. They were in Snasay. They were blown here by the wind. Because they came here, these siblings and the women also, they just stayed there at Hualien and built a hut.

Text. Kavalan 6

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 43

The ancestors of the Kavalan lived on an island. When land became scarce, one part of the people decided to migrate on 5 boats. They drifted to Taiwan and settled there, but Taiwanese came and lived amongst them.

Text. Kavalan 7

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 46–47

Three siblings (two brothers, one younger sister) drift from Sunasai. They come to Taiwan in search of fertile land. The siblings quarrel over land rights … the sister disguises herself, arranges a meeting with her son and marries him. Their progeny are the Taroko.

Text. Kavalan 8

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 47

A man called Kuzuzangan used to live in Sunasai long ago. His wife was Kunazayan. They are the ancestors of the Kavalan. Three boys, Tyabango-zaya, Takid-zaya, and Trionokadi were born to them. Since Sunasai was getting crowded and arable land was scare, they talked among each other about going abroad. Each of them built a boat. The names of the boats were Saranawan, Kurusayan, Kuravikav. They departed from Sunasai together. The boats were built of planks tied with rattan. The gaps between the plants were filled with banana leaves and split bamboo applied over the caulking to prevent leaking. Eventually the three boats reached Takilis, but since arable land was scares there, Tyabango-zaya and Tiro-nokadi embarked again and went further north to the Ilan Plain. Their progeny are the Kavalan. Takid-zaya remained in Takilis and his descendants are the Taroko.

Text. Kavalan 9

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 48

Four siblings, 2 brothers, 2 sisters. The eldest brother is Angau-kowa, the eldest sister Abas-kowa, the younger sister Raon-Kowa and the younger brother Taidun-Kowa. They drifted from Snasai to Taiwan … The descendants of the eldest brother and younger sister are the Kavalan, the other sister and brother went to the mountains are their descendants are the Taroko and Bunun.

Text. Kavalan 10

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 48

The former homeland of the ancestors is Sanasai. They were driven to Taiwan in a storm.

Text. Kavalan 11

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 48

A brother and sister came around Ilan. The elder brother's name was Tolinunkawa. That of his younger sister Abaskawa.

Text. Kavalan 12

Source: Shimizu, 1998, p. 50

If we extract from (all of the) diversified traditions, the constant core shared by most of them, the following paradigm emerges:

A brother and sister come to Taiwan in search of arable land. The brother defrauds his sister of the land she discovered and in consequence, hostility develops between them. The sister angrily goes to live in the mountains and becomes the ancestor of the Atayal. The brother lives in the lowland and becomes the ancestor of the Kavalan.

Ketagalan Origin Myths

Text. Ketagalan 1

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 257

In olden days when our ancestors still lived in Shan-Shi [unidentified place name], there was a minister whose daughter was hopelessly afflicted with leprosy. The minister prayed to heaven saying, "If anyone could cure my daughter, I would award my daughter to him." One day a dog came and started to lick his daughter's decomposed skin. This was repeated for several days, and, strangely enough, her disease was completely cured. The minister thought it was a pity to give his daughter in marriage to the dog, but he could not break his promise. He then put her and the dog in a boat and set them adrift on the sea. The boat arrived on Formosa. Through ages the descendants from the minister's daughter and the dog multiplied and they established Kimpaoli village.

Text. Ketagalan 2

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 39

Our ancestors lived in Sansai before but the monster Sansiyao appeared and attacked tribal people. They sailed across the sea by bamboo rafts and arrived at an island. They landed happily and established tribes there.

Liulang Origin Myths

Text. Liulang 1

Source: Ferrell, 1966b, p. 185

Our only knowledge of Liulang traditions, gained around the turn of the present century from their thoroughly Sinicized descendants, shows that the tradition of overseas origin had apparently been taken over by the Liulang as well, even the name of the overseas land of origin being given as the same as among the Ketangalan and Kuvalan (Sanasai).

Makatao Origin Myths

Text. Makatao 1

Source: Lin, 1996, p. 144

A long time ago, the Makatao ancestors lived in Vietnam. The wind brought the ancestors from the South Sea to Taiwan. Boats were wrecked in Taiwan. When everybody climbed to the island, Paiwan killed all the males. The females were forced to be wives and could not leave because of having no boats.

Their relatives who lived in Vietnam were very anxious. They commanded the birds behind the mountain to look. These birds leave in the springtime toward the north. When they found these females, they stopped on top of the roof of the kitchen. However, these women could not escape. They could only ask their children to come to the kitchen, and told them stories of the ancestors. They also reminded their children that the Birds Behind the Mountain were their relatives and that they must not harm them.

Paiwan Origin Myths

Text. Paiwan 1 – Parizarizao

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 576

The Parizarizao tribe of the Paiwan group possess traditions that their ancestors came down from heaven, and that the descendants prospered and spread rapidly over the district.

Text. Paiwan 2 – Kulaljuc

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 23 Creation Sun stone, snake Singing, reptilian, & en masse

The sun laid a stone. Kuljeljeljelje, a snake man was born and he created humans by signing.

Text. Paiwan 3

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 24

In the ancient times, sun and moon each lay one egg at Kapaiwanan. A male named Saljimlji and a female named Sevatjuljayan were born from these eggs. Sevatjuljayan created the ancestors of the present Paiwan clan by singing. It was said Saljimlji was skilled at farming, hunting, weaving, witchcraft, and other skills. He taught all skills to the clan.

Text. Paiwan 4

Source: Admin. 2016a

In the distant past, the sun came down to earth and laid two eggs. One of these sun-eggs was a golden colour, while the other was sky-blue.

After the eggs were safely laid, the sun named a pit viper known as the Hundred-Pacer as the eggs' guardian. The viper wrapped itself around to sun-eggs and vigilantly watched over them.

Eventually, out of the golden egg hatched a baby boy, and out of the blue egg, a girl. They became the ancestors of the Paiwan.

Text. Paiwan 5

Source: Admin. 2016b

Four eggs were laid by the Sun. Two of these were guarded by a giant green serpent and out of them emerged the ancestors of Paiwan commoners. The other two were guarded by the Hundred-Pacer, out of which emerged the aristocrats of Paiwan society.

Text. Paiwan 6 – Kuljaljau

Source: Admin. 2016c; Pu, 2012, p. 24

A long time ago, in the Austronesian settlement of Kumauan in southern Taiwan, there lived a goddess.

One day, as the goddess headed toward a nearby lake to fetch some drinking water, she noticed two serpent eggs lying upon the grass near her path. One was born to the Hundred-Pacer and the other to a Brown Spotted Pit Viper. The goddess picked up the eggs and took them home with her.

Not long after, out of each egg emerged a pair of human babies. From the Hundred-Pacer's egg emerged the ancestors of the Paiwan and from the Brown Spotted Pit Viper's egg emerged the commoners.

Text. Paiwan 7 – Makazayazaya and Pailjus (*Shared tradition*)

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 22

In the ancient times, the sun came down and laid an egg in the chieftain family of Makazayazaya, but the egg was eaten by a snake. Then the sun laid another egg and placed it in a wooden basin and had it sway with a swing. A female baby was born five days later. The sun laid a third egg from which a male baby was born.

Text. Paiwan 8 – Pailjus

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 22

In the ancient times, the sun came down and laid an egg at Makalaulauz (the old location of Pailjus), but the egg was eaten by a snake. Kaluljai and Kacikic caught the snake and threw it to the draughty farm. Later, the sun came and laid two eggs from which two male babies were born safely. After they grew up, one of them built the Vavulengan family in Makazayazaya and the other built the Kazangiljan family in Pailjus.

Text. Paiwan 9 – Makazayazaya

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 249–250; Ferrell, 1969, p. 44

In ancient days the sun came down to the top of the Chokaborogan Mountain and laid two eggs, one white and one red. The Vorun snake came to hatch them, and two deities, a male and a female, came out. The male deity was called Boaboran; the female

deity, Giarumjuru. They became ancestors of the chief family of the village. The common men originated from the eggs of the green snake.

Text. Paiwan 10

Source: Egli, 1989, p. 31†

The sun laid an egg in "Tjuaalabus Rhuvaniau." The protoplast named Lemej emerged from the egg and was washed by the sun.

Text. Paiwan 11 – Cimu Vutsul Paumaumaq Wangjia

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 26

The god of sun, Kadao, came down and laid three eggs in the pond. Dogs kept barking when they saw these eggs. As the water in the pond lessened, a cat came to grab these three eggs. The eggs broke and gave birth to a female and two males. They were ancestors of Cimu people. Several years later, the god of sun came to Kadziaka and laid a green egg. The egg split open naturally and a man was born from the egg. He was the ancestor of Paiwan people.

Text. Paiwan 12

Source: Shihzih, 2018ǂ

The children of the sun were born at Dawu Mountain (avulungan). Under a four-meter-tall square milky white stone (vucelacelai a tjagulj), there were two eggs. The sun shined on the eggs which were being protected by a hundred pace snake. Soon after, a man and a woman were born. They had children but the children were deformed and missing limbs. It wasn't until the third generation that the people became fully formed.

Text. Paiwan 13

Source: Shihzih, 2018ǂ

Once, the sun laid two eggs at Jiling (tjimu). One day a dog was walking by and all the sudden, the eggs began to make loud sounds. Two strangely shaped giant eggs were on the ground. The dog barked at the eggs. The barking was so loud that the clouds departed. A cat heard the sound and ran to the sound. The cat was frightened but, when it saw the dog barking at the eggs, it used its claws to touch the eggs. Not long after, the giant eggs started moving and there was a sound and the eggs cracked. Then a man and a woman came out of the eggs. A bird saw what happened and it flew to meet the two people and called out to them. The bird named the man puljaljuyan and named the woman tjuku. These were the protoplasts.

Text. Paiwan 14 – Ravar

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 161ǂ; Pu, 2012, p. 26

One day Kadao descended from the sky and laid three eggs in a pool. A dog barked when he saw it. The water in the pool gradually decreased. A cat came to get the three

eggs and they broke giving birth to two boys and a girl. The eldest daughter was chijo'o. The oldest boy was chiburoan. The younger brother was Sarikudzi.

Text. Paiwan 15 – Ravar

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 24–25 & p. 21–22

In the ancient times, the sun laid an egg in a djilung (small urn) at Kadumuan (present Wutou Mtn). A member of Tavalan clan found the egg in the mountain and brought it back. The egg grew day by day and split ten months later. A male baby was born from the egg. He was named Tatulan and taken care of by tribal people. Meanwhile, a girl was born from the ground and was named Satjuku. They got married after growing up and became the ancestors of Ravar chieftain.

Text. Paiwan 16 – Tjaqovoqovilje

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 23–24

In the ancient times, there were two little stones on the mountain in Tjaljaqavus (belonging to Northern Paiwan tribe). One was red and the other was green (it was said that they were born by the sun). Milimilingan (holy people) sang to the little stones. The stones split open and give birth to many people They were dwarfs about 2 to 3 inches tall, but they had healthy bodies. Milimilingan sang to them "Grow taller." Then their body grew taller … They kept growing tall and strong until they were as tall as modern people. People born from the red stone became the ancestor so the chieftains. While people born form the green stone became the ancestors of common people.

Text. Paiwan 17

Source: Egli, 1989, p. 32†

God planted bamboo in Revuaqan. The protoplasts emerged from the bamboo but they had no eyes, ears, or noses and couldn't talk. A year later, another pair was born, but they were monstrous as well. Finally, in the third year, fully developed people were born and they multiplied.

Text. Paiwan 18

Source: Lai, 2010, p. 24

In the beginning, god created the world and all kinds of animals with the exception of human beings. It was a very peaceful and wonderful era. One day, God wanted to do something original for his world. He gathered together all the snakes for the new creation. God said: "I want to choose one of you to finish a very important plan for the world." Then God walked around all the snakes. Suddenly, God saw the most beautiful one and chose it to create something new. He breathed his breath into the snake's eggs, and he ordered the snake to care for and hatch the eggs.

A few days later, one man and one woman hatched out of two of the snake's eggs. When God saw this, he felt very joyful and satisfied. In order to protect these two

creatures, he commanded the snake to stay near them and watch over them. God said: "I will grant you the authorization to use your weapon to protect these two persons. When an enemy is too close to them, you can use your fangs to bite the enemy; and it will drop dead before taking a hundred steps." The snake was ready to shoulder the life-long responsibility to bring up and protect these two person. After they grew up, the man was to marry the woman. They became the leaders of the first group of Paiwan.

Text. Paiwan 19 – Laiyi

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 26

Chimo people and our tribe came from different origins. Our ancestor moved here from Kuljaljau clan. It was said that there was a beautiful woman in the ancient times. The god liked her so it had sexual intercourse with her. She bred many little snakes, which became human beings later. They were ancestors of our Paiwan tribe.

Text. Paiwan 20

Source: Early & Whitehorn, 2003, p. 429–430

There were according to my story, there were a parent and child called Kulelelele and Pulelelelengan who lived in the world above, they say. With only the two of them they were extremely lonely, they say. "Well, son, we are lonely. Now we'll make the sea, the plains and the mountains," said the parent and child, they say. So then there was the sea all around. There they were on the highest mountain making the sea, the plains and the mountains, they say. "Well we'll get shade from the various kinds of trees that have blossom and bear fruit for foods of all kind," they said too, they say. And so the mountains became shaded; the trees got ripe in turn and the blossoms became bright in turn, they say. Grass too sprang up, and all the ground was full up, they say. Then "Now we'll have pets, child; animals, birds and things that swim in the sea," the parent and child also said, they say. So, they closed their eyes, and when they opened them, there it all was there was not a thing missing; they weren't missing any pets, they say.

So, there they were just enjoying themselves, they say. "Now, child, I'm sorry but off you go and see our fellows in the world below," said father Kulelelele to Pulelelelengan, they say. So "If I go to see them, father, what am I to do?" said Pulelelelengan, they say. "Yes, I'm sorry, but go; our fellows will tell you child. But don't stay longer than 30 days and come back here," ordered Kulelelele to his child Pulelelelengan, they say. So Pulelelelelengan went to visit the world below, they say. And Pulelelelengan arrived in the world below by way of the Muatjukutjuku house, they say. And when he had arrived, he kept saying: "Come here, fellow villagers, come to me. I will speak to you and explain to you." So he gathered the people of the world below and explained to them the goodness of his place, and about his most loving father. And went people of

the world below understood this, they said; "So that's how it is; so there is something good like our own place, and there is someone really love," said the people of the world below, they say. And they longed to see and to get to the world above, they say. "Fellow villagers, tell one another, explain to the people who didn't turn up, whom I haven't met, so that you will all know the love of my father and the goodness of the world above," said Pulelelelengan.

And he went back to his father in the world above, they say. And Pulelelelengan told his father everything that he had done in the world below, they say. And the people were very glad "So there is something better than our place. And there is a real chief who is truly loving," said the people of the world below, and they were very glad, "So get ready and be glad to go to the world above following Pulelelengan," They said.

Text. Paiwan 21

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 165

Milimilingan meant three things; one was the ancient event, another was mysterious events, and the last was strange god man. It was said milimilingan came from the mingming sound of cicada chirping in the season of summer. People said human beings and millet were both created by singing. The songs were prayers and they sounded like the cicada chirping mingming. Creating human beings and millet by singing was a mysterious and strange thing, so ancient people called mysterious and strange things or people doing such things as milimilingan. Also, creating human beings and millet by singing was related with ancestors' events, so ancient events were called milimilingan stories.

Text. Paiwan 22 – Sapudeq

Source: Mabuchi, 1974, p. 87

The ancestral deities had five children and all of them dwelt on the slope of Mt. Kavurungan. The deities charged the eldest child with the task of creating wild animals and of leaving them in the fields and mountains, the second child with the task of creating fishes and of leaving them in the rivers, the third child with the task of creating pigs, the fourth child with the task of creating the "millet" and tubers, and the youngest child with the task of creating the lumai (Eleusine coracana Gaertn.) and juris (Chenopodium sp.). All the seeds of these food plants were given to the people.

Text. Paiwan 23

Source: Fong, 2021, p. 27ǎ

In Taimali, there appeared a goddess holding bamboo and stone in her hands. She threw the stone to the ground, from which sprang the ancestor of the Amis; and then stuck the bamboo into the soil, from which sprang the ancestor of the Paiwan.

Text. Paiwan 24

Source: Egli, 1989, p. 27–28†

The protoplasts gave birth to fourteen children. The pregnancies lasted a year each but the children grew up quickly through the use of chanted spells and magic. The children separated into 7 pairs and started their own villages.

Text. Paiwan 25

Source: Egli, 1989, p. 28–29†

The protoplasts gave birth to a girl. She married a dog after the dog saved her from a terrible wound. She gave birth to 14 children at the same time. The children separated into 7 pairs and started their own villages.

Text. Paiwan 26 – Gulou

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 163ǂ

There was a dog between two trees. He was a stranger and he gave birth to a man. This is why when a dog dies, it is given a funeral and treated like a person.

Text. Paiwan 27 – Butsul

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 164ǂ

The ancestor satakaraws descended from Dawu mountain and married sachijoke chijoke from the plains. They established a tribe there.

Text. Paiwan 28 – Gulou

Source: Lai, 2010, p. 29

Long ago, there were three pots on a mountain. Each one was made of a different material: gold, silver, and clay. One day two dogs from Mt. Ka-vulungan bumped into the clay pot. A baby girl came out of the broken pot. When she grew up, she married the hundred-pace viper and gave birth to three children. The first child became the chief of Gulou Village. The second child became chief of Wutan Village, which is next to Gulou Village. And the third child was the ancestor of the bulingau (shameness) among the Paiwan. Thus, all the members of Gulou Village and its correlated groups thought they were the offspring of the Clay Pot Woman and the hundred paced viper.

Text. Paiwan 29

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 162ǂ

Ada'o fell from the sky and laid two sun eggs at suchiruan na ada'o (Land of the Sun Egg). Under the eaves of the rovaniau family house there was a stone wall and it was forbidden to enter. The egg hatched. A man and a woman were born. They married each other and moved to djiadjiurutan.

Text. Paiwan 30 – Butsul

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 162ff

Kada'o descended to lay an egg. A snake appeared and swallowed the egg. The second time Kada'o laid an egg in a wooden bowl placed it on a swing and after five days a woman was born. A man was born from another one. The man is the ancestor of the Japanese. The woman married a snake and had a son and two daughters.

Text. Paiwan 31 – Youbei

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 162ff; Lai, 2010, p. 26

A goddess lived in the Amawan tribe. One day she went too high on a swing and she fell into the underworld. She met another goddess named puraruraruyan. One day puraruraruyan was thirsty so, the goddess went to get her water. On the way she met a hundred pace snake egg and another snake egg and brought them back. Not long after that, the hundred pace snake gave birth to the ancestors of the chiefs. The other snake egg gave birth to commoners. When children from the two different tribes marry, their children were born deformed so it became taboo for the two castes to intermarry.

Text. Paiwan 32

Source: Eisenberg, 2019, p. 85

A long time ago there was a goddess. One day, she played on a swing, and swung so much that she dropped down into a cave, and then died. After a few days, in the cave appeared another goddess who lived there. Some days, the goddess felt thirsty so she went to look for water. On the way she picked up a snake's egg and a turtle's egg and brought them home. Not a long time after, the egg of the qatuvi ("snake" in the Paiwan language) bore the noble ancestry. The egg of the turtle bore the commoner ancestry. If they married, their child would have only one nostril and half a mouth. So until now, the noble family and commoner family cannot get married.

Text. Paiwan 33 – Padain

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 285

In the past, seven holy siblings appeared. Nobody knew where they came from. They may have come down from Dawu Mountain. The eldest sister was Samuakai … The second oldest brother was Sakinukinu … The third sibling was Sapulalungan. The fourth sibling was Sapuljaljuyan (both male). After discussion, they decided that one of them would fly to the sky while the other would go to the sea. Sapulalungan climbed up Dawu, flew to the sky, and became god of thunder. Sapuljaljuyan went to the plains along Ailiao South River. He became the ancestor of Pinpu people. When they were leaving, they said to the other siblings: "After we leave, there will be two colorful pigs appearing in our tribe every five years. You must kill them and contribute one to Dawu Mt. and one the to the river." From then on, the colorful pigs did appear every five

years. Tribal members killed the pigs and contributed them to the brothers. This was the origin of the five-year festival Maljeveq.

Text. Paiwan 34 – Kuvulj Tjaqovoqovilje

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 286

The god of sun laid two stone eggs at ‘avulungan (North Dawu Mtn.). The eggs split open and gave birth to a boy named Sa’aljis and a girl named Samuakai. They got married and became the ancestors of Paiwan tribe.

Text. Paiwan 35 – Neishitou

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 286

In the past there was a bamboo pole at Pinavavu’acan (origin of ancestors, mountainside of North Dawu Mountain). The water between the bamboo joints congealed and turned into two eggs. The bamboo split and the eggs dropped to the ground. One egg was red and the other was green. They grew bigger as the sunshine shined on them. These eggs moved next to the tree in windy days and under the shadow of the tree in hot days. They grew as large as oranges. They cracked open one day and two boys were born from the eggs. The first was ‘aljunguan and the other was Saljimlji. There was another small and brittle stone that split open and bore a black egg. This egg grew bigger as the sunshine shined on it. It cracked open later and a girl came out from the egg. These three human beings grew up and got married. They knew they were born from stone and bamboo, so they took the stone and bamboo as their parents. They put the bamboo and stone inside their house and protected the treasured them. Later on, the son of bamboo ‘aljunguan married the daughter of stone. They bore lots of children.

Text. Paiwan 36 – Atsudas

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 243

In ancient times there was a bamboo at a place called Pinabukasan. The bamboo grew up very fast, but water inside the bamboo caused it to split open and release four strange eggs. During the daytime these eggs separated, but during the night they joined together as one. After five or six days snake-like men and women emerged from the eggs. They did not know how to copulate, but one day a man was about to pass water, and a woman told him to urinate in the place between her thighs. They found that the action was interesting and caused a pleasurable feeling. Soon after, she bore a child who was deformed. Their second child was normal and handsome, and from this offspring the people multiplied and spread to many places.

Text. Paiwan 37

Source: Admin. 2016d

In ancient times, a god planted upon a rock a stock of bamboo, which in time grew into a tall and imposing bamboo tree.

One day, a powerful storm passed through the area. The bamboo was struck by lightning and began to burn. From its ashes, the First Woman emerged.

After some time, another powerful storm ripped through the area.

This time, the rock beneath the bamboo was struck by lightning and was split in two. From the rock emerged a great snake, which was quickly snatched up by the First Woman and consumed.

After devouring the serpent, the First Woman became pregnant. She soon gave birth to twins-a boy and a girl-who became the ancestors of the Paiwan people.

Text. Paiwan 38

Source: Wirth, 1897, p. 365; Taylor, 1886, p. 69

They are descended from two beings, male and female, who in the beginning emerged from a rock that burst open.

Text. Paiwan 39 – Ravar

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 23

In the ancient times, two men and two women were born from the fissure of stones in ʻIdjeruau, Tavalan. Their names were Sakai (male), Suvulungan (male), Sakaljlju (female), and Satilj (female). They got married and had offspring.

Text. Paiwan 40 – Taimali

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 25

In the ancient times, there was a huge rock in Panapanayan. A woman named Rarigimu appeared from the huge rock and she lived by drinking the sweat of the rock.

Text. Paiwan 41 – Taimali

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 163ǂ

At Panapanayan there was a stone. The stone split and a woman named rarigimu came out. She married basakaran from Taromak and they had two daughters.

Text. Paiwan 42 – Parilarilao

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 163–164ǂ; Pu, 2012, p. 25

There was a large stone at kinabakan that split open giving birth to a man and a woman. The male was sadjimudji. The woman was saumai. The two of them had children. But the first was a snake. The second was blind and the third was missing limbs or headless. Finally, they had complete children. After the two grew up, they had many children. Some went north to become Puyuma. Some went south to become Paiwan.

Text. Paiwan 43

Source: Egli, 1989, p. 30–31†

In "Vangau" there was a large stone with a large round hole in the middle. From this hole came the monkeys and badgers. It was not just one animal, but rather they were created in large numbers. The tigers, the magpies, and the hundred-step snakes also emerged from this stone.

The monkeys and badgers moved away to "Kasintan." The monkeys were still monkeys and the badgers were still badgers. From there they moved to "Pupadain." There they developed for the first time human-like beings, which are very imperfect.

From there they moved on to "Pultji." There they developed into real people. However, their language was still very imperfect. It was like mute people talking. But their language developed noticeably. The number of people also increased considerably. The village became bigger and bigger, and the power of the chiefs increased.

Text. Paiwan 44

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 163ǂ; Lai, 2010, p. 25

On Dawu Mountain a bamboo split open and many snakes came out. After they grew up, they transformed into people.

Text. Paiwan 45 – Chaoboobol Atsudas

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 163ǂ

There was a bamboo at pinabaokatsan. Snakes came out of the bamboo and transformed into a man and a woman.

Text. Paiwan 46

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 164ǂ

A man named salimudjudo and a woman named sarumai were born from bamboo. They are the ancestors.

Text. Paiwan 47 – Parilarilao

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 164ǂ

Once, a dog was drinking water in a stream, smoke suddenly appeared at the bottom of the stream, and two people, a man and a woman appeared in the smoke. The males name was ritsan, the woman's name is not known.

Text. Paiwan 48 – Kunaljau3

Source: MOC-Paiwan

Another origin myth, which is still orally transmitted among the Kunaljau Paiwan, describes how the tribe's ancestors came from across the sea. It tells of a small island called Marairai situated in the southeast of the big ocean. The island was richly endowed by nature and the landscape was beautiful. But one day the people found that the happy lives they had all been leading were suddenly being disrupted by all kinds of ghosts and demons that had begun to haunt the island. A bright young lad

came up with a way of fighting the demons: a fire was made in a furnace, around which the people of the island formed a big circle. The women and children, and the weak and old, were in the center, protected by the strong young men who formed the outer ring of the circle. In this fashion, they tried to expel the demons with the help of fire. But it turned out that the demons were too strong, and the people had no other choice but to flee from the island on wooden rafts. After their precipitous flight, they drifted about on the ocean for quite some time. Eventually, some of them came to Taiwan and landed near what is today Kaohsiung's Hsiatanshui River.

Pazeh Origin Myths

Text. Pazeh 1

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 40

Pazehe people's ancestors came from heaven and came down to the spirit land. It is present Guanyin Mountain two kilometers east of (Taichung County) Fenguan City. Its ancient name was Tuporuararyuz. The offspring of the god people established the first tribe called Haradan on the hills at the foot of Guanyin Mountain. The historical site of this tribe is located at the green forest.

Text. Pazeh 2

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 269; Ferrell, 1966b, p. 178; Ferrell, 1969, p. 50

Our first ancestors came down from heaven. They lived in the central plain of Formosa and were very prosperous.

Text. Pazeh 3

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 40

The earliest ancestor named Magyawas came to the world from heaven. His offspring were a couple. The husband was Vanakaisi and the wife was Savongakaisi. A flood happened in Taiwan then and the tribal people all drowned.

Text. Pazeh 4

Source: Liu, 2018, p. 24ж

The Makiyawasu descended from heaven and lived on the planes of Central Taiwan, and their population grew.

Text. Pazeh 5

Source: Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 367–373

In the song of ayan, we shall talk about our origin. The old woman Tia inspected (the earth) below the sky. She looked carefully to the extremes and it was all barren as if it had scabies. Then the old woman Magiauwas was coming down through the space

of the sky by riding the clouds. Then she descended to the earth. The old woman Tia chanted incantations and it came out well. The day was dawning in the east, and then she was to name it. AdamadaN was in the east, and then she was to name it. DahamadaN was in the east, and then she was to name it. SilabaN was in the east, and then she was to name it. (Another) silabaN was in the west, and then she was to name it. It was made to be a bamboo sp., and then she was to name it. (There was another) bamboo sp. and dawn in the east. The bamboo sp. and dawn in the east, and the bamboo was used to cut off the navel cord of a (new-born) baby. It was fortunate that the old lady Tia chanted incantations. All (things) existed (on earth) under the sky. There were all sorts of trees and grass.

Kaxabu Origin Myths

Text. Kaxabu 1

Source: Li & Tsuchida, 2002, p. 311–317

Let's sing the ritual song of our origin. Let's talk about ancient ancestors. It is said he was named Abuk. He was the beginner. "Dad, Mom, I'm leaving," he said. He took a bow and arrows with him. He was going to the dark interior mountains. He set out and went half of his way. Abuk was afraid. He was afraid of being bitten by wild animals. So, he went to the beach. He looked around carefully. He saw a mother turtle laying eggs. Abuk was very happy. He was picking up turtle eggs. One egg was not laid yet. He raised his and to take out the egg. The turtle was frightened and shark its vagina. Abuk came back to himself. There was nobody at the seashore. He saw a half-burned firewood fire at the beach. He traced back the stream to look for people. When he saw smoke, his mind opened. He felt greatly relieved. This is the ritual song of our origin. Everything was like that.

Puyuma Origin Myths

Text. Puyuma 1

Source: Cauquelin, 2004, p. 29

The ancestor planted his walking stick, the Amis and Puyuma came out of the stick.

Text. Puyuma 2

Source: Pache, 1964, p. 68†

The first people who lived in our area were the Amis. One day, they planted a bamboo in the ground. This grew larger and we Beinan people came out.

Text. Puyuma 3

Source: Del Re, 1951, p. 45

The founders of the Puyuma tribe were the god Pacomarai and the goddess Paconsel, both of whom issued from bamboo. The myth is also common to the island of Kashoto and to the Paiwan tribe.

Text. Puyuma 4

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 167ǂ

In the old land, there was a forest. In the forest the sun laid an egg in a pot. The chief sarolibaku was born from the egg.

Text. Puyuma 5

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 167ǂ

The ruling class of the Beinan tribe is descended from snakes. The ancestors of the commoners are descended from dogs.

Text. Puyuma 6

Source: Cauquelin, 1991, p. 17

The people of Katipol were born out of a stone, while those of Nanwang emerged from a bamboo.

Text. Puyuma 7

Source: Huteson, 2004, p. 8

The Puyuma are descended from bamboo and rock totems. Descendants of the bamboo totem comprise the Katipol clan and descendants of the rock comprise the Puyuma clan. The origin myths specify that Ruvuoahan, said to be in the proximity of Meiho Village, Taimali Township, Taitung County, was the place of origin of the Katipol. Panapanayan, in the ocean off of Meiho Village, is said to be the place of origin of the Puyuma.

Text. Puyuma 8

Source: Quack, 1981, p. 38–40†

I want to tell the story of the people of Revoaqan from ancient times.

As for the history of the ancestors in ancient times, there was a poraq rock there at Revoaqan, as we say, we the mountain people, it was in a crouching position and very big. He had a neck, as they say, and a head. At that time, when he was about to bring forth the men, as it is said, he foamed. When he stopped to think, the man Tinaqi came out. And then Pudek came out, it is said.

Text. Puyuma 9 – Tipul

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 36

In the ancient times, the bubble of tides emerged along Ruvoahan Coast. Something like dust appeared then. It turned into a stone later. The stone split open and something human figure came out of the stone. There were eyes on its knees and face on both sides, so it had a total of six eyes. Its right calf was pregnant and gave birth to a male named Sokasokau and a female named Tavatav. Nobody knew which of them was born first. After getting married, they bore a stone at Ruvoahan. Then they bore another stone at Kavorongan, present Dawu Mountain. The girl born from the stone at Ruvoahan awas Rarihin and they boy born from the stone at Dawu Mountain was Vasakaran. Real human beings appeared from then on. Vasakaran married to Rarihin and they bore a boy named Arongatai and a girl named Vayayon. The brother and sister got married later and bore two daughters named Ruvi-ruvi and Ta'ta.

Text. Puyuma 10

Source: Quack, 1981, p. 95–97†

In ancient times, we came out of a stone. Our bones were stone, our flesh was earth. There was one born who became human. More were born and she brought children to the world: the sun and moon, monkeys, horses, deer, fish, and birds. She also gave birth to the vaqerit bird as well as a regular bird. Then, the one who came out of the stone married the monkey. A boy was born. When the boy grew up, the mother asked him to take food to his father but he didn't see anyone for two days. Instead, he only saw the monkey gnawing the sweet potato. He killed the monkey. Mother was surprised and told him that the monkey was his father. Then, the mother told her child to walk down the road to meet someone. She dressed herself up and waited on the road where she met her son and tricked him into believing she was someone else. She made love to him and became pregnant. That was the beginning of mankind.

Text. Puyuma 11

Source: Huteson, 2004, p. 8–9

The Puyuma are the descendants of Unai (man) and Tanval (woman) who burst forth full grown from a stone at the foot of Tuluan Mountain. Unai and Tanval had three sons and three daughters who multiplied.

Text. Puyuma 12

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 578

In very ancient days there existed a large stone at the foot of Mt. Aravanai (southern extremity of Pinan plain). On an eventful day, however, this stone burst and gave birth to a man and a woman, called Unai and Tanval respectively. The two marched

northward as far as Chipun river, where they settled, and founded a tribe called Chipun. The two now married and gave birth to three boys and three girls, whose descendants became the ancestors of the different tribes of the present Puyuma group.

Text. Puyuma 13

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 166

A woman was born from a stone at ruboan.

Text. Puyuma 14

Source: Cauquelin, 2004, p. 28

Long ago, Nunur, borne by the waves, was washed up on the coast where there was an arenui (stick) that is the story. He clung onto it and, using all his strength, climbed up onto the beach. He used that arenui as a walking stick and then planted it. It grew into a bamboo and then it burst. A woman, Pagemuser, and a man, Pakmalai, came out of it. This brother and sister got married.

Text. Puyuma 15

Source: Tien, 2003, p. 93

The ancestors of the Puyuma are from southern islands. The islanders called themselves Irur, and the Puyuma say it means "fish." In a year, the tribe was destroyed by a typhoon, and the floods did not recede for a long time. There was a couple, the man was called Adulusaw, and the woman was called Adulusaw. They boarded a bamboo raft and drifted on the sea for several days before being saved by the Orchid Islanders. They didn't live on the island for too long. Because of different living habits, they were unable to adapt. The couple negotiated that they moved to another place, so they built a boat to leave Orchid Island, sailed north, and finally reached Taiwan.

Rukai Origin Myths

Text. Rukai 1 – Haocha

Source: Tien, 2022, p. 26

In Haocha, there is a myth about the ancestor of the ruling class, Peanut: In ancient times, the myth says, there was a goddess named Peanut who was so focused on admiring beautiful flowers that the first ancestor of the ruler's family was born from the flower.

The story says that the ancestor of the chief of Haocha Village was born to a goddess who "looked" at the flowers which is very interesting. Later, the Rukai people began to wear flowers as ornaments on their heads. Perhaps, this is related to this story.

Text. Rukai 2

Source: Tien, 2022, p. 26–27ж

The goddess Moakaikai visited Dawu Mountain during spring when the lilies were in full bloom. Suddenly, the soul of the goddess was drawn by a magnificent and bright flower. It was a small trumpet-shaped white flower. As the flowers were swaying in the breeze, the heart of the goddess entered communion with the lilies and a boy was conceived within the lily's ovary. Since then, the lily has become the totem of the Rukai tribe. The boy became the ancestor of the Kaitanjinan family.

Text. Rukai 3 – Taromak

Source: Portnoy, 2010, p. 37

The first of the Taromak was a man of the Lrabalriyoso clan, who was born from a stone in the high mountain lakes at a place called Kariyalra near the territorial border with the Western Rukai. While walking through the forest he set eyes on a dazzling lily flower, which turned into a beautiful princess, and became his wife.

Text. Rukai 4

Source: Li, 1975, p. 50–71

I shall tell a story. I shall talk about a legend. There was a couple who had a child by the name of Moakakay. They father went hunting; then he came back already. When the father went hunting for the second time, the mother took his belt and stretched it out and said, "May my child become like this! There is nothing that you cannot do or will be despised. You are neither fat nor big," she said to the child who was still crawling. When her father came home she had grown up and looked quite different. Her father came home. "You made the child grow up so fast. We have not embraced her and seen her clearly yet as a baby," the father said. Kolilili came long to run after the girl. And her father said, "Let's go hunting, kolilili." Then the father and son went hunting. The father and son were away for three days. For some reason, the mother said to her, "Go to the field and watch the bananas and pineapples. Or else when the common folks come to make clothes for your little sister, what will they eat?"

The mother stripped her naked. The child went to the field. She came to the field and kept crying, naked, the wind blowing, raining, pitiable, crying at the cliff. She got hungry and said, "What shall I eat?" She picked a banana and ate it, but did not finish all of it. When she came home, it was late at night. Her mother cooked dumplings and gave some to her younger sister. As her younger sister split them apart, there was pork in them. As Mwakakay split apart her own share, the stuffing was the excrement of cockroaches. "Ai, why is my mother treating me that way? Why is she doing that? That is not what they used to do. When Daddy is home, he is very fond of me and feeds me. Now she treats me like this when Dady is not home," That child said and cried. She

stayed awake all night. She got up and dawn. “There are some dried potato peels. Take them with you to cook in the field and leave!” the mother said. It was still raining and the win was still blowing. Then she left. She came to the field and kept crying. “If the weather is like this, I should go home,” she said and left. She came home in the evening. At dawn she said to her girl friend, “Ai, my friend, let’s got to gather wood.” The two friends kept walking from mountain to mountain. And they came to Lokyana. “Our friend should be tired,” she said. “Then, my friend, let’s sleep.” The friends slept. As her friend slept, she would cite the incantation. “What should I do so that there would be a house for our friend?” she said and there existed a house. Their house was so good that it looked as if a fly would slip on it. And she said “Stop,” Then she said town. She recited the incantation, “May there be water for our friend outside,” and there existed the water. “May there be all sorts of clothes for us. None of which would not fit. Those for my friend would be of poorer quality; those for me would be of better quality,” she said and clothes for the two friends began to pile up. “May there be all sorts of food for us: rice and food,” she said, and there existed all sorts of food: rice, meat, and pork; their pigs surrounding the backyard make very strange noise. She woke up her friend, “Get up, my friend. We would cook, we are hungry already,” she said. Her friend got up and was very surprised, “What did you do my friend, that we’ve got the house and the clothes?” The two friends put on the clothes. They all fit well; the two friends liked all their clothes. And they entered the house. At night, she said, “Let’s go to bed, my friend.” Her friend was asleep without knowing what was going on. She cut off a branch of betel-nuts, put in lime, and spread the limbed betel-nuts on the ground. The village is as big as one’s vision can reach down below, high above, to the left, and to the right. She put limed betel-nuts on both sides of their stove. She put limed betel-nuts on her bed to make two young ladies. She put some at the central pillar to make four men. Then she slept. The friends got up when it was dawning. The house was full, and the village was full of people. Her friend got up very much surprised. She asked, “Where in the world, my friend, do these people come from?” Mwakakay was singing as she got up. At that time her father and boy friend were coming home. They got home. “Where is Mwakakay?” he asked his wife. “She went with her friend and said, “We shal gather firewood.” It has been seven days and they have not come home yet. Where have they been? The father took that bow and arrows. He shot to the east to look for Mwakakay. The arrow returned. He shot to the west, it returned; to the north, it returned; to the sky, it returned; to the south, the arrow disappeared. The father said to her boy friend, “Your girls has gone to the south. Dress up and leave.”

While she was singing casually, there was a sound cikis, the arrow came in through the skylight and fell on Mwakakay’s lap. “Ai … , my father is looking for me my friend,” she said and cried. She gave the monkey a rope. “Take up my father by rope,” she said to the masses. Her father and boy friend were at the cliff looking up.

The monkey threw down the rope. "Why did they throw such a thing to us, Kolilili? What are we supposed to do?" he said. The men both sat on it. The monkey pulled them up. They came up. The father and son when right to the wide road. They walked along the road. They kept walking. They just caught sight of the village and heard the noise. The dogs were fierce barking at them. There are children outside the village making arrows from reeds. "Where is Mwakakay's house? Have you seen it?" they asked. "Mwakakay's house is in the center, the biggest one," the children replied. The children showed them to outside the house. Her little girls came out of the house. They looked at them but had never seen them before. "Ai … , there are people outside Mwakakay. The strangers have guns and knives with them," they said. Mwakakay peeped out and it was her father. She prepared the container of betel-nuts. "Girls, got o invite the strangers in," she said. The kids went to invite them. "Where's your big sister, my girls?" They kept quiet, laughed at each other, and ran away. The father started crying, rolling on the ground, as he saw the betel-nut container, the lime container, and the small knife. "Ai, that lime container of Mwakakay, that small knife of Mwakakay, then we can talk to her." The father and daughter both cried bitterly. When the father passed out, Mwakakay jumped out. She went over to prop him up. And she talked. And several people carried him into the house. She took some wine and made her father and boy friend drink it. The father and son both came to themselves. She kept telling her grievances; they kept talking to each other. "Ai, Daddy, if we die or if I die, you senior relatives of mine, elder brothers, sisters, and cousins of min, will not be able to talk to me, what my mother has done to me" she said crying. Five days were over. Ten days were over. They enjoyed talking at night without knowing the daybreak. Mwakakay got tired. "If that's so, Mwakakay, its time that we left. Our net (with meat) will soon stink. The meat will soon be spoiled. I shot three wild fowls, and your boy friend shot two." "OK, please go. Why didn't you give the meat to my mother and little sister?" she said. "I didn't give it to them. I fastened my net, 'don't take it until Mwakakay returns,' I said to your mother. I didn't take it out," he said. Her father left. They came to their village. He took out all their clothes and said to his wife. "You caused so much trouble, you did all that, you illtreated our child, I shall give you only a broken needle and the burned clothes. I shall not give you anything else," he said to his wife. He packed all up. "I told Mwakakay that I would go on the tenth day," the father told his people. The people made wine and cake. "Let's say farewell to each other, you won't see me and Kolilili," he said to the common people. The common people all said, "Weh shall join you. We shall join you. We cannot stay on. We cannot do without Mwakakay," they said. They made wine and drank to say farewell. On the tenth day, all of them went to Mwakakay's place with the wine and cake. Mwakakay recited the incantations to make good the roads and flattened the bad places, the river, the rocks, the roads, the steep mountains; the roads were so well constructed as if flies would slip on them. Her father brought his people, the

wine, and cates to Mwakakay's village. He returned with a big crowd joining him. They got there, drank the wine, and the two (Mwakakay and Kolilili) got married immediately and lived together.

Text. Rukai 5 – Sapokan

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 165

In the past, a god and a goddess appeared. They are our ancestors.

Text. Rukai 6 – Taravasadji

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 165

The goddess Rukuraw descended on the land at tavatavan from the heaven on Dawu Mountain (takaraws). At that time the sky was low and the sun was strong so the goddess pushed the sky up with a stone. Later the goddess married a man (demi-god) named rawpurun whose penis was so large that the goddess couldn't stand it. So, she killed him. The man's fingers transformed into commoners, the limbs transformed into the chief's family and the chest transformed into the chief. This is the origin of the ancestors.

Text. Rukai 7

Source: Eisenberg, 2019, p. 96

Long, long ago, a goddess, Dar Wa Dar Wan, from the mountain's sky came down. At that time, the weather was very hot. The goddess used a handle to push the sky open. Afterward, the goddess liked a sawaláai ("man" in the Rukai language) and she and the man were married. The man was very big and the goddess could not endure this and killed him. But they had a child, and this child was the ancestor of the Rukai Tribe.

Text. Rukai 8

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 166; Pu, 2012, p. 28

The sun married a pot and a female egg was born. The egg married a rock born man from the Pocoan family of Lavoan tribe. At that time, there were only gods and no humans. After the egg married, the woman valon was born and valon married a hundred-pace snake and gave birth to two boys. The younger boy was called canovak. Canovak, Valon, and the hundred pace snake, all ascended to heaven. Canovak became the chief of Ali tribe.

Text. Rukai 9 – Capungan

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 20

The male and female ancestral gods Muakai and Sakinu, appeared in the clan in ancient times. They created humans by signing and became the ancestors of Rukai people.

Text. Rukai 10

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 574

The moon gave birth to their ancestors, and in the house of a chief a round stone, circular in form, intended to represent the moon, is preserved. Both the jar and the stone are considered as sacred objects, and strangers are not permitted to approach them.

Text. Rukai 11

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 573–574

Some Tsalisen tribes have a tradition that their ancestors came down from heaven with twelve earthen jars; and at the present clay, in the house of a great chief a peculiar old earthenware jar is handed down from generation to generation.

Text. Rukai 12

Source: Winkler, 2016, Bk. 5, p. 62–69

Long, long ago, the original ancestors of the Rukai Tribe came from a place known as Kaliaharn, near Dalupalhing Lake. This was the place where all life originated.

At that time the world was in chaos. There was no life at all except two eggs of the sun in a ceramic vessel that was deep in a cave at Kaliaharn. Every day when the sun rose from the east, the very first place the sunlight touched was upon the two eggs.

After many many days of receiving the sunlight, the eggs finally hatched. From the eggs emerged a brother and sister. The man's name was Gilagilau and the woman's name was Alayiumu. They later became husband and wife and gave birth to a son, Adralhiu, and a daughter, Maututuku. When Adralhiu and Maututuku grew older they also became husband and wife.

Text. Rukai 13 – Calisian

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 21

Holy dog (punug) came here to drink water. The water decreased and two stones appeared at the bottom of the pond. These stones split open and gave birth to a boy and a girl. They got married after growing up and became the ancestors of Calisian clan.

Text. Rukai 14 – Inulan

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 20–21

In the past, there was a huge tree three dings east of the present location of the calm. The fork of its trunk gave birth to a boy and a girl. After they grew up, they got married and became our ancestors. The place was called Kituvaace (the origin of the clan. It is the same with Vuvulj clan's Qinizingan). There were several huge autumn maple trees.

Text. Rukai 15

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 165ff

At kitobatsu there was a giant tree. A man and a woman came out of it. Their children are the ancestors.

Text. Rukai 16 – Inulan

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 21

There was a spring emerging from underground. In the past, there was a huge stone here. It split open and a boy named Ca'I was born from the stone. After he grew up, he married Sara'c, the daughter of Capungan clan's chieftain, Kazangiljan. The couple created human beings by singing. They were ancestors of the chieftain Kalavayan.

Text. Rukai 17

Source: Qiao, 2001, p. 46ff

A group first came from the north of Lake Tiadigul (Lake Bayu) and the area of Daloarina Lake south of Kilila. Homariri, a boy born from a stone and Sumurimu a girl born from the ground became the ancestors of the Abalius family.

Text. Rukai 18 – Tamarakao

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 240

In ancient days there existed a large rock at the place called Mateyasan, and a man and woman emerged from it. They learned a way of intercourse from a deity and became man and wife. Three children were born to them. The eldest, a son, became the chief of the village; the second, a son, became the vice-chief; the third, a daughter, married her second brother. The ancestry of Tamarakad Village came from the eldest son.

Text. Rukai 19

Source: Zeitoun & Lin, 2003, p. 47

The ancestors "come from a hole obstructed by a grindstone." the post diluvian Goddess Kayikayi also emerged from a hole in the ground. (Pu, 2012, p. 171)

Text. Rukai 20

Source: MOC-Rukai

The Rukai living in Taitung County's Beinan Township (in a small area called Tehlumake) believe that their ancestors came from across the sea, landed on the shore of Taiwan's eastern plains and from there entered the Central Mountain Range, where they made camp for a while. They didn't stay there permanently, but kept looking for the ideal abode, migrating this way and that.

Saisiyat Origin Myths

Text. Saisiyat 1

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 71; Chen & Cao, 2009, p. 296ǂ; Tien, 2013, p. 60ǂ

In the ancient times, human beings (were) created by the god lived in the original land.

Text. Saisiyat 2

Source: Tien, 2013, p. 59ǂ

A long time ago, in the high mountains of Taiwan, the Almighty God created a group of people who lived together and lived and worked happily.

Text. Saisiyat 3

Source: Tien, 2013, p. 60ǂ

In ancient times, people were created by god.

Text. Saisiyat 4

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 32

In the ancient times, there were banana trees everywhere. Clusters of banana were beautiful and fragrant. However, nobody cared about the bananas, even after they ripened and fell off the trees. There was a great mountain with seven sword like peaks. The highest and most famous peak was called "papak Waka" (in means an ear shaped rock). It is the present DaBaJian Mountain. There was a huge strange on the top of "Papak Waka." Its stench could be smelt far away. At sunset, the fissure of the rock gave forth a sound like a crying person. A cluster of curious birds gathered there when they heard the sound. They tried to peck open the rock but failed. One of the birds called "Chexili" said loudly. "I got it! The god will help us as long as we pray. Let's close our eyes and pray!" After they finished praying, out of nowhere, a piece of grass flew here. Nobody knew the actual prayer of the birds. After a loud burst, the huge rock split open. A leisure boy and a girl walked out from the rock. One of them had a banana in the hand and the other had a betel nut.

Text. Saisiyat 5

Source: Tien, 2013, p. 58ǂ

The legendary birthplace of the Saisiyat tribe is in the Daaikou area in Hsinchu. It is said that in the old days, their ancestors drifted across the sea and came to the community.

Text. Saisiyat 6 – Daai

Source: Tien, 2013, p. 59ǂ

The ancestors came from drifting overseas, and later took refuge at Mt. Dabajian due to floods.

Sakizaya Origin Myths

Text. Sakizaya 1 – Nararacanan

Source: Hansioux (2014–2020)

Legend has it that the ancestor was a god named Arapanapanayan, living somewhere in the south. He had descendants.

Text. Sakizaya 2

Source: Huang, 2009, p. 48–49ǂ

In ancient times, there was Arapanapanai Mountain in the south of Malan. The rain gods Macapidap (male) and Kusung (female) were in the mountains. They were the ancestors of the Tafalong Tribe and others. These two gods had six children.

Text. Sakizaya 3

Source: Huang, 2009, p. 49ǂ

In ancient times, two gods, Madabila and Lisung, went to Arapananai Mountain.

Text. Sakizaya 4

Source: TCALLNNLN, 2019 Timestamp: 04:39–05:10

God used the earth and the salt of the sea to create to the ancestors of the Sakizaya tribe. They were born from the earth and lived by the sea. They piled the shells they had eaten into a tall mound to mark their place of origin.

Text. Sakizaya 5

Source: Chen, 2010, p. 26–27ǂ

In the ancient times a man named Botoc and a woman Sabak came out of the land at Nararacanan and got married. There was also a woman named Kolmy. Where she came from, no one knows. She had a daughter named Sayan. Sayan married Botong, the son of Botoc and Sabak. They are ancestors of the Sakizaya tribe.

Text. Sakizaya 6 – Kasyusyuan

Source: Tien, 2019, p. 24ǂ – Lin (2016)

A long, long time ago, because of a major flood, siblings (a brother and a sister) floated to Taiwan Island in a canoe and landed ashore in Yanliao, Hualien. They looked around and saw no one else.

Text. Sakizaya 7 – Ciwidian

Source: Tsai, 2005, p. 18ǂ

We are the descendants of a brother and sister who drifted north from a certain island to the pig port and Maogong (Fengbin) in ancient times … The ancestors of the Sakizaya people came from a southern island called Sanasai.

Text. Sakizaya 8 – Sakul

Source: Tien, 2019, p. 146ǂ

Trees once rescued the Sakizaya people. The legendary ancestors of the sisters took wooden boats to fish. When they encountered a typhoon, they drifted to Taiwan on the sea.

Seediq Origin Myths

Text. Seediq 1 – Renai

Source: Liu, 2018, p. 13ǂ

A woman of unknown origin married a pig and gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew up, the mother dyed her face with tree sap and married her own son. Then she gave birth to a child. Later, the son discovered that his wife was his mother, and the mother left home. Later, she married a dog and gave birth to many children, and her children and grandchildren gathered around. In short, Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku are the descendants of dogs and pigs.

Text. Seediq 2 – Kolo

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 250; Hsu, 1956, p. 156ǂ

In ancient days a fly came out of nowhere and laid eggs. The eggs hatched, and two persons, a man and a woman came out of them. They are the ancestors of mankind.

Text. Seediq 3

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 35

According to elder's words a great tree grew in the tribe on Kapopo Mountain. Its trunk reached the sky. Its leaves touched the land. One day, a new life was born from the root. He had four legs. He walked around on the land. He jumped under the root. He was the elf of human beings. There was a wart. Later, real human beings were born from the root. What a life. How tall and long. Could not walk. Crawled on the land. Until the end of life.

Text. Seediq 4 – Tgdaya

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 33–34; Liu, 2018, p. 15ǂ

In the ancient times, there was a huge tree as tall as the sky. Its branches and leaves were growing luxuriantly. The sun was concealed by the leaves so the universe remained dark. Later, a four-legged, furry animal was born under the tree. Another animal with a tumor on its head was born then. Its body looked like a tree trunk and its feet were branches like the roots. There were two types of animals born on the tree later. One was tall but it could not stand straight. It could move by crawling only. The

other was light and its hands were long. It could both walk on the ground and fly in the sky. These animals were ancestors of beasts, human beings, and birds. The primitive man born from the trunk gave birth to a man and a woman who were our ancestors.

Text. Seediq 5

Source: Tan, 2020

The White Rock Mountain, aka Bhuhun in the Seediq language, is the origin of the group. Legend has it that there was a tree soaring high into the sky. That half-rock, half-tree root of the tree is called Pusu Qhuni, and from there a man and a woman were born.

Text. Seediq 6 – Tek-daka

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 34; Hsu, 1956, p. 155ff

In the past, there was a huge tree at Bunobon (Bunohon) on Central Mountain Range. It was strange that half of the tree was wooden and the other half was rock. One day, the wooden spirit turned into gods. A male god and a female god appeared in the tree. They gave birth to lots of children so there were more and more human beings in later generations.

Text. Seediq 7

Source: Chen, 2020, p. 340

The Bunohon in the Sedek creation myths means "the root of trees." According to aboriginals' research and inference, Bunohon was located on Rmdax taxing (the white stone mountain) or Busu btunox (the peony stone) on the border between Sioulin, Township in Hualien County and Nantou County. It is said that there was a huge tree in a place named Bunohon in the Central Mountains in ancestral times. The tree was composed of wood on one side and stone on the other side. This tree was unique. The spirits of the tree became gods. One day, a god and a goddess walked out from the trunk. They raised many children. Their children also had many offspring.

Text. Seediq 8

Source: Chen, 2020, p. 340

There was an old tree, named "Posho Kafuni," in Bunohon, Mt. White Stone. One day, one man and one woman came out from the split of the tree trunk. They were the ancestors of Tek-daka.

Text. Seediq 9 – Gungu

Source: Asai, 1953, p. 79

There came out of a tree one man and one woman and they resided at Gungu here to farm. He begot many children from whom are descended all the people, who are many.

Text. Seediq 10

Source: Sung, 2020

In ancient times, there was a giant tree in Bnuhun, in the mountains. At the base of the tree there is a big cave. Nearby there is a pool of water that flowed past the tree. The cave is the real birthplace of the ancestors. Two men and a woman were born from the cave.

Text. Seediq 11

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 177

A long time ago, there were no people on the earth. One day, suddenly, "Bang!!!," a terrific sound came from the stone called Pusu Ohuni, and the cliff split in half. One man and one woman came forth from the crack in the stone cliff. These were the ancestors of the Sediq tribe.

Text. Seediq 12 – Pulan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 246

In the chaos period, the original human beings were a man and woman who came out from the ground, then another man and woman came out of the soil. They bore children and their offspring became the human beings of today.

Text. Seediq 13 – Pulan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 256

One day, a man emerged from a pile of pig excrement and saw a man and a woman standing nearby. He asked if they would do him a favour by cleaning the pig excrement off his body, but they both refused. Before this man returned to the pig excrement he said, "If you had both helped me to clean the pig excrement off my body you wouldn't die but would just shed your skins to renew yourselves and become young again. But you refused to oblige me, so from now on you will begin to die." After saying that, the man re-entered the pile of pig excrement.

Text. Seediq 14 – Plngawan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 245

The ancestors of the Sediq were a man and a woman who came out of a broken rock whose name was Pusu Qhuni and afterwards they got married. Their offspring moved on to live in the Truwan which was the place of origin of the Sediq.

Siraya Origin Myths

Text. Siraya 1

Source: De Beauclair, 1975, p. 11

They do not believe in one god but have many gods, two of whom they say are the principal ones; one called Tamagisangach, who has a wife, called Terarychapada, and another one called Sariafay. Tamagisangach lives in the South, his task being to create human beings. He makes them ugly if they don't sacrifice to him, and beautiful if they sacrifice to his liking.

Text. Siraya 2 – Soulang

Source: Tenn, 2017, p. 61–62

A Sirayan founding myth that circulates among Soulang villages in the coastal areas and hilly hinterlands of Tai-lam tells how Sirayans migrated to Taiwan in the wake of a perilous voyage. Accordingly, the Sirayan forebears braved a deadly storm and suffered a shipwreck while they said a boat across the rough sea, but managed to survive and reach the southwest shore of Taiwan under the guidance of *alid,* which refers to the divine or ancestral souls. Today the tale comes forth with several versions and helps ferment a sea worship in the hinterland.

Text. Siraya 3

Source: Tenn, 2017, p. 161

Siraya forbears traveled across the sea by a sal craft and encountered a tempest. At the critical moment with the vessel was about to perish in an impending capsize, the Han characters of Lo-kun (or A-lip-chou depending on informants) emerged on the sail. Next the Sirayans saw the blurred shadow of an island, and managed to approach the shore, narrowly escaping a shipwreck … According to Siraya's prevalent oral narratives, Sann-gou-Kah, a Soulang village in the west coast of Tai-lam, along with its neighboring villages Hoan-a-un and Tak-ka, are the approximate site where Sirayan forbears strived to reach after having barely survived a raging storm on a rough sea.

Trobiawan Origin Myths

Text. Trobiawan 1

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 58ǂ

245 years ago, the ancestors left Taitung in a boat. They went to the south of Da Nan'ao, and stayed there temporarily. Unable to bear the oppression of the other tribes, the gradually migrated along the coast and came to live here (Yilan Shetou) more than 200 years ago.

Text. Trobiawan 2

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 58ǂ

More than 200 years ago, the ancestors left Shinasai and went to Takkiri, north of the Hualien Port and south of nazhuoshui. They left Shinasai on a boat and were

driven off course by a storm. They were shipwrecked south of Danan'ao. They stayed there temporarily, but were forced to move north by the other tribes. They went north to Kavalan and then farther north again to Sharon.

Text. Trobiawan 3

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 58ff

In the past, on an island called Sunasai, there lived three siblings. The eldest brother was Ti-lono-kua. The young brother was Ti-zawai-kua. The sister was Ti-abas-kuo. They traveled to the Yilan Plain by boat. There was a dispute over the land and the younger sister was pushed into the mountains. They are the ancestors of the Atayal and the Kavalan. The Trobiawan tribe are the descendants of the younger sister who came down from the mountains and lived at Tukidis.

Text. Trobiawan 4

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 58ff

Trobiawan is a Kavalan language. The ancestors of the Trobiawan used to live at Kidis, north of the Takili river at the mouth of Kanaongan. Due to frequent growth of weeds in the Taroko area, they took refuge in the sea and moved to the Yilan plain. They founded a tribe called Trobiawan after the Kavalan were already there.

Text. Trobiawan 5

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 59ff

In the past, there was an island called Sunosa (Sanasay) in the south. People there went on a boat and were blown to Kidis by the wind. Unable to return to Sunosa, they formed a tribe there. The so-called Kidis is the coastal strip north of the mouth of the Takili River. How they negotiated with the Taroko tribe at that time is no longer clear. It is only known that there were many diseases in the area, so the ancestor of the Duoyu Wukuaishe moved to Yilan.

Text. Trobiawan 6

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 59ff

On Sunasai, there were three siblings. The oldest brother was Kunuzangan, the second brother was Tokid-zaya, and the youngest brother was Ti-lanoqodi. The eldest brother's wife was Vanasayan. And they had two sons: Avango-zoyo, Ti-lono-kua and Timabas-zue was the daughter of Takid-zoya. The island wasn't big enough for them so Avang-zaya and Ti-lono godi led the family into a boat called Kurusayan and Takid-zaya's family took the Saranawan boat. The two boats left Sunasai at the same time and went to Tukidis: Kurusayan boat went further north to Yilan and became the ancestors of the Kavalan tribe.

Takid-zoyo and his party stopped at Tukidis and became Atayal. The ancestors of the Trobiawan set off from Sunasai. They were Prianu-kua, Piyan, his wife and their

child Popo. They took the Kulavikav boat and went to Tukidis and fought with the Atayal. Then they left the place and moved to Yilan.

Text. Trobiawan 7

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 59ж

In the old days, in Sunasai, there was a couple called Kuzuzoyan and Kunasayan. They were Kaliwan. They were also the ancestors of the Kavalan including those at Jialiwan. The couple had three sons, Tyabanyo-zaya the eldest, Takid-zoya the second and Tivono-kadi was the youngest. Because Sunasai was too small, the three men left Sunasay. Each took his family in a boat. The boats were made of rattan and the gaps were filled with banana leaves. Soon the boats arrived at Takiris. But there wasn't enough land there so the eldest and third son moved north to Yialn and became the Kavalan. The second son stayed at Takilis and his descendants populated the area known as Taroko.

Text. Trobiawan 8

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 59–60ж

The ancestors of the Trobiawan tribe and the Qauqaut tribe lived together in Tukidis. Later they moved to Yilan where they built tribes. The Kavalan tribes lived them before that. Trobiawan and Hoho originally came from Sunasai but their languages are different. It is also different from the Kavalan language.

Text. Trobiawan 9

Source: Zhan, 1995, p. 60ж

The ancestors of the Trobiawan arrived at the former Kanoongan and lived north of the mouth of the Takilis river. They were pushed out by the Tarko tribe so they moved to Yilan. At first, the Kavalan, Trobiawan and Taroko tribes came to Kidis from Sunasai. The Kavalan tribe moved to the Yilan plain. The Trobiawan and Taroko tribes ended in the same place. The former lived in the Kandongan area on the coast, while the latter live in the mountains.

Truku Origin Myths

Text. Truku 1 – Tpuquan

Source: Chang, 2012, p. 247

In the chaos period, a man and a woman emerged from Pusu Qhuni, a split rock. They had a boy after their marriage. The father died after his child grew up, and the mother needed to find a wife for her son in order for him to continue the line. She was worried because for a long time she could not find one. One day, the mother told her

son, "I will leave home to find a wife for you. If you see a woman who has a tattoo on her face on the road tomorrow, you should take her back home to marry her." After she said this, she left home and went inside the mountain and let her face be tattooed. So the young man found a woman with a tattooed face on the road and took her back home to get married. They then had children in order for their line to survive. That is the reason why the women of the Truku tribe should have tattoos on their faces, and why it has become their tradition even up to today.

Text. Truku 2

Source: Pu, 2009, p. 134

Before, there was a giant tree on Poppo Mountain. Once, a human spirit came out of the tree root. From its body were born a man and a woman. They lived together in a world with the ghosts and gods of violent winds and thunder above the skies. After they grew up in order to procreate humanity, the woman said, "I have found a woman for you. Tomorrow, you can meet her below the tree." The woman ground the bark of the tree into black ink and spread it on her face. When the man saw her, the married her and procreated humanity.

Text. Truku 3

Source: Liu, 2018, p. 16ǯ

In ancient times, there was a huge stone at Pnswaqan. One night, it suddenly split, and a man and a woman walked out of it. Later, they saw flies overlapping each other. Only then did they understand how to make children. After that, their descendants multiplied.

Text. Truku 4 – Kubayan

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 155ǯ

The ancestors of the kubayan tribe were born in Pinsablukan near the root of a Mek-mogau tree.

Text. Truku 5

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 156ǯ

One woman was born from pig feces. There were no men, so she had sex with a dog and gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew up, he married his mother and they had many children. They are the Taroko ancestors.

Text. Truku 6

Source: Kim, 1980, p. 148–152

Once when there was still no man on earth, two women emerged from lumps of pig's excreta under a tree called Layatz in a place called Torowan on the mountain

Degiyak Bulowan. Beside the two lumps of pig's excreta, there was another one from which emerged a snake. As the excrement was too filthy and smelled terrible, one of the women washed her body immediately. Since her body became exposed to direct heat of the sun, she died on the spot.

In fear of being struck by the same destiny, the second woman could not dare wash herself. Instead, she asked the snake to clean her body to which the snake consented. As the snake cleaned her very carefully and slowly, she could gradually adapt herself to the hot weather and thus survived. When she was asked by the snake to clean its body in turn, she replied, "if you clean your body using your own hands, you will certainly die immediately as the woman did. If I clean your body, then you will have only a limited life time as I will have. The best way to clean your body without using either your hands or mine. If you do this way, you can enjoy as long a life as you want." While the snake was contemplating this quandary for a long time, it saw a hole in the earth nearby. Out of curiosity, the snake crawled into the hole. Since the hole was small, the pig's dung on the snakes' body was rubbed off automatically as the snake went in and came out of the hole. That was how the snake solved the dilemma. From then on, snakes have been able to extend their lives as long as they want by changing their skin, while man has a limited lifetime.

Then the woman began to wander here and there because she did not have any shelter or food. She used to sleep under the Layatz tree which was huge enough to cover half of the world, so that it was very comfortable to stay in its shade out of the reach of the sun's heat. At that time, there were two suns which came out in turn so that there was always daylight. One day as she was about to take a nap as usual, she found a dog sleeping under the same tree. She asked the dog what he could do and the dog answered that he could do anything she wanted him to do. From then on, they lived together.

One day the dog proposed marriage to the woman but was rejected by her. He felt ashamed but tried to persuade the woman by saying, 'since we first met, I have done a lot for you. I have prepared food every day, and even fought against other beasts in order to protect you from their attack. When you fell in the river, it was I who plunged into the water at the risk of my own life to save you. When you fell sick, I climbed the top of the Layatz tree in order to get some young leaves to cure the sickness. But for my help, how could you have survived? Yet, I did not ask anything in reward for what I have done for you. Now I offer you marriage but you reject it. Then I leave you.' The dog disappeared into the forest.

Suddenly the woman found herself very lonely, so that she decided to call him back. As she shouted for him, she heard a voice from the opposite side of the forest, and she rushed in that direction. Since it was the echo of her own voice, however, she could not find him. As she was resting, repenting of her faults, a pig appeared form behind the tree and suggested to her that she go in the direction where the sun rises. To face the sun was unbearable for her but she did not give up her search for him.

On the fourth day just when she became extremely exhausted, she ran into the dog. They married and she gave birth to a son whose name is known as Skum Awi. He was the strongest, bravest and smartest, and his whole body was covered with long hairs. He could run in the mountain area as swiftly as a bird flies in the air, and no sword or spear could do him any harm; when he fought against enemies, he used his body hairs to grasp all arrows and spears flying toward him. The dog father remained his faithful companion and taught him all the knowledge and skill for hunting. As he became old, however, the dog father began to demand a special treatment for him, e.g., demanding a larger portion of game meat for him than for Skum Awi, and he even began to steal some of Awi's meat. One day when they went out for a hunt together, the dog took Skum Awi's spear, and thus Skum Awi had to take bow and arrow. When they reached the forest, the dog suggested going to the east but Skum Awi insisted on proceeding to the west. Therefore, they separated each other toward the opposite directions. Soon afterwards, Skum Awi came across a deer which ran away into the forest toward the eat. He chased after the deer. As the second sun was rising from the east, he could not face the deer directly, so that he shot the dog father instead by mistake. With deep lamentation, the woman and her son buried the dog on the spot and covered it with wood and stones. Later, Skum Awi married his mother who subsequently gave birth to a son and a daughter who in turn married each other and had many sons and daughters. After that, the Taruko people increased greatly in number and spread over a vast mountain area.

Text. Truku 7

Source: Kim, 1980, p. 149

Two women met an old man coming out of a huge amount of excrement, who asked them to clean his body, offering that he would let them know how to enjoy immortality free from any disease. As the two women refused to help him, because he was too filth, the old man disappeared into the excrement again. So missed the secret knowledge forever.

Text. Truku 8

Source: Ho, 1967, p. 256–257

Formerly there was a chief who was ashamed to keep a malformed daughter. He gave much treasure to her and put her and a dog in a boat and set them adrift on the sea. The boat arrived at the beach of Taroko after several days adrift. They landed there and found a place to settle. The dog hunted animals and caught fish to feed the daughter. Thus several years passed. One day the dog said to the daughter, "I have sought food to serve you several years but have never received any special favor so I am thinking of leaving you." The chief's daughter said, "Since I have received your sincere care, how

could I forget your reward? Fortunately, I know a girl who has a tattooed face so I will go and bring her to you for your wife." A few days later, after tattooing herself, the chief's daughter came back. She married the dog and from them the Taroko people descended.

Tsou Origin Myths

Text. Tsou 1

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 36

In the past, the god of our ancestors came down from heaven and lived on the grass lands. One day, it made two dolls with twitch grass and turned them into a man and a woman. They bore offspring and established all tribes.

Text. Tsou 2

Source: Ferrell, 1966 a, p. 172–173

Once long ago the great god Hamo came down to earth and planted men. What he planted grew from the earth into the ancestors of the people of today, which is why people are sometimes called *tsamuh tsojoua*, "those who grew from the soil."

Text. Tsou 3 – Tfuya

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 36

In the ancient times, the great god Hamo came to Tfuya clan and sowed the seeds of human beings. The seeds grew up from the earth and became ancestors of human beings. The great god created human beings only once. Later generations were born by people grown from the earth.

Text. Tsou 4

Source: Ferrell, 1966 a, p. 172

Long ago the great god Hamo shook the maple tree, and leaves fell to the ground and became the ancestors of the Tsou and Maya tribes. Then Hamo again shook the tree and leaves fell to the ground, becoming the ancestors of the Chinese.

Text. Tsou 5

Source: Pu, 2012, p. 35

In the ancient times, the god came down to Jade Mountain. There was a maple tree there. The god shook the tree. The fruits fell down to the ground and turned into men. The god shook the tree again. The leaves fell down to the ground and turned into women. They were ancestors of human beings.

Text. Tsou 6

Source: Tung, 1964, p. 373

The one who began creating the Tsou here … They called him Nivnu. The one who began propagating the Tsou here. What he made were two persons. Those were the ancient ancestors of the Tsou here. The Tsou were gradually many.

Text. Tsou 7

Source: Tung, 1964, p. 287

Nivnu shook the Lauea (Maple) tree each leaf that fell transformed into a human. Nivnu took them to heaven. The next day he brought them back to the ground and taught them how to make wine, and build houses.

Text. Tsou 8

Source: Tu, 1959, p. 537

There are two gods named Ninewu. They are Father Ninewu and Son Ninewu. They live in heaven and have wives there. Father Ninewu created people (all men).

Text. Tsou 9

Source: Tsai, 1996, p. 70ǂ

The supreme goddess uimunu made the first man and woman. The goddess taught them to be good.

Text. Tsou 10

Source: (National Palace Museum, 2019)

God came to the Jade Mountain intent on creating a better world. He strode in steps among the mountains to create residence for humanity. He stamped on the land and flattened the west plains. Wherever He went, dormant life was awakened and living creatures were born. The summit of Tashan, Tfuya, Hosa, and Lalauya were places God chose for the Tsou people. After all preparations were done, God created men. These men were the ancestors of Tsou. They lived in the chosen land and thrived with the blessings of God from generation to generation.

Text. Tsou 11 – Tfuea

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 161ǂ

A leopard cat gave birth to a kitten and the kitten transformed into a person.

Yami/Tao Origin Myths

Text. Yami 1

Source: Del Re, 1951, p. 45

In ancient days the god called Ibago caused bamboos and other trees to grow on the islands (i.e. Kashoto, Kotosho and possibly Taiwan itself). The god then ordered the wind to blow first in one direction and then in the other until the bamboo split open. First a woman sprang out of it, then a man. The god ordered the woman to take the path on the right round the village and to go to his house by the sea. Then he ordered the man to do likewise, but to take the path on the left. The god married them on the sea shore. The woman gave birth to a female child who had no bones and was blind. Then the god was angry and said: "This is not good. You are both wicked." Shortly after the baby died and the god caused the man and the woman both to die.

And again, Ibago caused a large bamboo to sprout. This time the man came out first and the woman second. The god then ordered them to go down to the sea shore, the man taking the path on his right, the woman on his left. The he married them. From this union was born a male child perfect in body, followed by a girl. Later another boy and another girl were born, in the same order. But when the first elder children grew older a skin disease covered the whole of their bodies. Then the god said to himself "This couple also is not very good. But I'll treat them differently from the other one and shall send them to Saffran (Kashoto i.e. Green Island)." And the god threw a wooden bridge over the sea, joining the coast to the island. In the island there was a very tall pole which touched the sky, for the sky in those days was lower than it is now. Flocks of black birds flew around and round the pole, and the sky las lifted up to where it is a present.

The younger children of the union married and they too had four children, in the same order. These, notwithstanding the strict order of the god Ibago, at so much of the fruit of the Kira tree, that the god became angry and said to them "Because I wish you to be ashamed of having disobeyed my orders and eaten so much of my fruit, from henceforth you shall bear upon your bodies the mark of your shame." Saying thus he made a hole in the earth and cast them into it. From that day they, who had not known shame and went about naked, began to covered their genitals with strips of tree fiber. Thus originated the habit of wearing clothes.

Text. Yami 2

Source: De Beauclair, 1959, p. 14 DE

Creator god Shimo-rapao created the first human. In the world of gods: The divine beings are called tau-roto-net, literally "beings in the heights." They are kept in different Strata above the firmament. The top priority is Shimo-rapao, whose name means ancestor. He has the stone thrown on the island from which the first man came or, according to another version, he descended in a golden sedan chair.

Text. Yami 3 – Iraralay

Source: Benedek, 1991, p. 225–230; Benedek, 2018, p. 40

The Supreme Being up there in Heaven turned to one of his grandchildren and said, "I cast you down into that world beyond."

"How will you do that Grandpa?" his grandchild asked. The Supreme Being got hold of a hard rock and placed the child in the core of it.

"There," he said "I will let you down there now. You will break out of the rock and then you will be on your own." After that, the child did as he had been told and broke out from the rock. His name was Si-Mokam. Later there were more of them, they changed from ghosts into human beings. That's how it happened.

Text. Yami 4

Source: De Beauclair, 1971, p. 19–20

In ancient times, the heaven and Earth were connected by a golden ladder. The first human being was lowered from the sky to the Earth on the golden ladder. The milky way was formed by fish who jumped out of the sea and stuck to the sky. The stars are called mata-no-angit "eyes of the firmament."

Text. Yami 5

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 168ff

In the past, two goddesses appeared from bamboo at di-paon. The two goddesses picked up a stone from the ground and held it under their armpits. They walked to the spring and poured clean water on the stone. Men and women emerged from the stone. Many people were made.

Text. Yami 6

Source: Enn, 2015, p. 52

Depending on the village, the story of the Tao's origin varies. One of the myths is that of the Fish God. The creator of the Tao people is a fish, the Fish God. The myth says that the fish was like a man; he gave the people all their knowledge and traditions.

Text. Yami 7

Source: Hsu, 1956, p. 169ff

God came from the south and created little Orchid Island and Orchid island then returned to the south.

Text. Yami 8 – Imaorod

Source: CIP-Yami

After creating Xiaolanyu and Lanyu, the God of the South hit a gigantic rock on his return to Lanyu Island. When this gigantic rock fell into the sea, it broke into two halves. A god called Nemotacolulito walked out of the crack to the mountain and shook a gigantic bamboo. Then, another god called Nemotacoluga wuly appeared. One day, a man and a woman were born from the knees of Nemotacolulito. The same also happened to Nemotacoluga wuly. The children of both gods became two couples and subsequently developed Yami (Tao) society and culture.

Text. Yami 9

Source: Benedek, 1991, p. 34

In the ancient times, Heaven and Earth were one and the same, until a giant separated them and that was how the sky and the land came into being.

Text. Yami 10

Source: Arnaud, 2013, Timestamp: 0:00:56

Our island rolls just like a ball, the plains haven't been created yet. The plains haven't been created yet. The sun appears then comes the moon. The twinkling stars come along then. The twinkling stars come along then. The lightnings and roar of thunder. The lightnings and roar of thunder. Both give birth to the fall of the rain. The rainbow climbs high in the sky. The rainbow climbs high in the sky. And then the islands are divided and the sea starts undulating.

Text. Yami 11

Source: Winkler, 2016, Bk. 3, p. 18–36

… When the boat reached the island shores, a group of strange-looking people came off the boat and went on to the island. They didn't look like people. Didn't look like spirits, and didn't look like ghosts! Some had very broad and powerful-looking shoulders, while some had eyes that seemed to pop out of their faces. Some had huge hands but tiny feet. This strange collection of people found this beautiful island was a very attractive place to live and they decided to settle here.

Their way of living was also very different from normal people and each of them had some special and unusual abilities.

One of them was called Si-paloy … Si-paloy was able to come back from the dead and was also able to live in the sea as well as on land.

Another one, Si-ozamen … needed nothing to eat.

One day the tall and powerful Si-kaleted brought all the people on the island together and made an announcement. "My name is Si-kaleted and I want to make the sky higher because now it is too low" …

Another person was called Si-pacilalaw. Every time he saw a fat little baby or a pregnant woman he would make moves as though he were going to eat them … After these people arrived on the island the trees and plants no longer were as lush and rich as before. The birds no longer sang their happy songs, and before long, a great flood came and covered the entire island all of these strange people.

Text. Yami 12

Source: Davidson, 1903, p. 590

Their traditions tell of the arrival of strangers driven there by storm from the islands which they call "Ibatan" and "Ikubarat." They also declare that in ancient times a man and woman gave birth to many children. The father died in early life, and the mother

was stolen by the natives of "Ibatan" island and carried away never to return. The children, however, grew up and prospered, and now inhabit the village of Irarai on the north west coast.

Text. Yami 13 – Yayo

Source: Benedek, 1991, p. 324–326

Those who broke out from the hard rock actually came from overseas. Once, there was someone who said, "We broke out from the hard rock."

They were forty people, and they lived at Tabedeh, afterwards they prospered there.

As for their origin, I heard old people talking about that generation after generation. It is said that on another island somewhere there was a person who once told his children, "Do not go to our plantation, because then you will eat the fruits of kalelenden and pali." "Why would we eat those?" asked the children. After a while, however, they went there anyway. Sometime after that, when they were having breakfast, the younger child suddenly scratched his knee. "Oh, my child, why aren't you eating? What is wrong with you?" asked his father. "My knee hurts" the child answered. Then his knee swelled up, and he was very ashamed. "My child, this really looks as if you ate pali," his father said. "Yes, my father, I ate kalelenden," said the child. The eldest son said, "And he ate pali too." "Didn't I tell you not to eat those fruits, my children?" said their father. The man from overseas was ashamed, so he made a big wooden box and put his child into it. Then he said, "I let you drift in this box, and you go drifting with the current to the shore of the great rock at Tabedeh. While you are drifting in the ocean, if you meet other wooden boxes, you say, "You stay far away from me, because the excrement of Lovolovoin (messenger of the gods) will spray you!" And this is what the child said every time another wooden box came near. Apparently, there were several wooden boxes in the current. Since glass existed already at that time, the child could look into the ocean.

The box drifted to Tabedeh. The people in this story were people from Ikbalat. Afterwards the child had an offspring. "This is why my knee hurt before," she said.

It turned out that the children could not speak. "My brothers cannot speak, because they ate kalelenden."

She had another child. It was a girl. Then the children intermarried and kept on prospering. Then they were forty at Tabedeh. "If our number grows so fast, soon there will be no space left for us here. Where are we going to move in the future?" they wondered. "We will stay only here in this village of ours," they said. They were all named after Si-Mawawa. That is the origin of those at Tabedeh.

Text. Yami 14

Source: Liu, 1980, p. 114–169ff

1. Where did the Yami people come from? My father said it, and it was what our grandfather said. Our island was originally an uninhabited island like Little Orchid Island.

2. There was a wooden box with a person inside and sealed on all sides, drifting on the sea, who drifted to our island.
3. That person may have been created by our god.
4. Later, the wooden box hit the edge of the island and shook when it hit the reef, causing the person inside the wooden box to feel something, and he said: 'What shook me?'
5. So he opened the wooden box and saw that he was already on the island.
6. He said: 'So I have already floated to an island.'
7. He got out of the wooden box, and the place where he landed, that is, the beach he drifted to was called Jimasapaw.
8. Some other people floated to Tabedeh near Yayo, another to Liyos in Iratay, and another to Jichabaw at Iraralay.
9. After drifting down to Jimasapaw. He thought to himself, where should I go?
10. When he saw a cave, he went to live there.
11. At that time, he had nothing to eat, so he went to the seaside reef to eat, and he ate the edible things he saw to stay alive.
12. Later, he became pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy.
13. After he grew up, suddenly he grabbed his knees and a girl was squeezed out.
14. After they grew up, the two formed a family, and a blind child was born. This was because of the marriage of the siblings.
15. They said: 'What made the child blind?'
16. But those people were created by the gods, so the population continued to multiply. Later, when there were too many people, they returned to Ivatas, lived in caves, and the population multiplied there.
17. When they were tired of living in Ivatas, they looked for another place to live.
18. They walked to the land cultivated by si Kalagayoy and lived there, and then established a tribe there, and the population increased.
19. Later, they married people from Jimasik, and from then on, they became people with complete facial features.
20. It took a long time for them to build ships, but at that time there were already houses.
21. The tools used to build houses and boats are axes made of iron blocks picked up with driftwood.
22. At that time, the axe was not a real axe, so we could only chop down some easier trees to make houses and boats.
23. Those of them, because of their wrong intentions, the population did not increase and there were only about 30 people.
24. They said: 'Why hasn't our population increased in all this time?'
25. Because of their immorality, the gods were angered and caused the sea to ebb.

Text. Yami 15

Source: Rau, V. D. (2005)

About the earliest humans on this island, there were si Paloy, si Ozamen, si Pacilalaw, etc. These people, though, were not real people, for some of the things they thought or did were not like normal people.

Now, Si Paloy and that group, they did not work in the fields because they did not understand agriculture, and therefore they did not have food. They lived by drinking the wind and water. This was the life of si Paloy's group.

Now, si Paloy would always dive into the ocean to eat his nephews' fishing bait. Every time he died, his body was shattered, so he is not a real human.

About Si Pacilalaw, when he saw that the child he was holding in his arms was fat and cute, he would cut it to pieces, cook it, and eat it. This was what happened with Si Pacilalaw.

And si Ozamen, this was a person who only drank water to survive. He didn't have a field. Sometimes, he would go swing on the swings under the longan trees.

Sometimes, when a group of them went into the mountains and one said, "I can't go because I can't leave my child unattended," the others would say, "Then throw him/her into a bucket." This was the way of the earliest people on the island.

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In this book, Valdis Gauss anthologizes the Formosan anthropogonic myths from all of Taiwan's Austronesian tribes. Over 250 origin texts, sourced from dozens of linguistic, anthropological, historical, and mythological corpora as well as other publications have been collated and analysed rendering the present literary survey far more comprehensive than any prior study on this subject. Over 100 Formosan myths, many of which were never previously available in English have been translated here for the first time.

In the absence of longstanding traditional orthographical records, the Austronesian tribes that inhabit the island of Taiwan have relied on the transmission of oral literatures for the preservation of historical events since the dawn of time. The earliest historical events that are still recited by tribal elders relate to the origins of the gods and first ancestors of mankind. This anthology continues the tradition of collecting and transcribing these myths for everyone interested in the corpus of literature from Taiwan's aboriginal peoples.

Valdis Gauss is an Assistant Professor with the Department of English at National Taitung University in Taiwan (ROC). His notable works include *The Formosan Great Flood Myths: An Analysis of the Oral Traditions of Ancient Taiwan* (Mellen Press, 2022) and *The Formosan Shooting the Sun Myths: Oral Histories of the Aboriginals on Taiwan* (forthcoming).

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